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FBIS-LAT-89-209 *31 October 1989*

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Cuba

Commentary Notes Shortcomings of Regional Summit

FL2810193089 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Station commentary]

[Text] The hemispheric presidents' meeting ends today in Costa Rica. There has been much ado about nothing. The first to split [largarse] will be President Bush, and he will do it happily. Nothing was discussed; nothing was agreed upon; nothing was recorded; and this political exercise, this caricature of a presidential meeting, meant nothing to the Latin American and Caribbean people.

As Comrade Fidel told Venezuelan television journalists, this meeting has been nothing more than a show centering around Costa Rican President Arias. I know Arias, the commander in chief said, and when he speaks to me, it is in a most friendly manner and he does not feel that it is a mortal sin. Now he has done me the honor of excluding me, Fidel said.

In effect, Arias has excluded Cuba in the name of democracy. To answer him in the words Fidel used in the aforementioned television interview, I point out that democracy is the government of the people, for the people, and by the people, but never a government of a small group of the oligarchy, for the oligarchy, and by the oligarchy.

Is there a political system in Latin America that has more ties with the people than the Cuban system? Fidel answered this question by referring to his own efforts. He never confines himself behind the air-conditioned walls of an office. Fidel told the Venezuelan journalists what the Cuban people know so well. He said: I am on the street, in the factories, schools, hospitals, in research centers. Everyone knows me, and I am everyone's neighbor.

I ask then, why did President Arias make such a display of democracy? The only thing for which the peoples of the continent can thank Mr Arias is for causing a meeting to fail simply to please President Bush. He who does not make the rules, even at home, cannot call himself a democratic person. He is simply a lackey.

Fidel, Raul Castro Receive Argentine Delegation

FL2810130189 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1202 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro has received the delegation representing the Communist Party of Argentina [PCA], which is visiting our country. The delegation is headed by PCA General Secretary Patricio Etchegary and includes PCA President Athos Fava and PCA representative in Cuba Luis Hellar. [titles as heard]

The talks were held in a fraternal atmosphere, and topics of mutual interest were discussed, including matters related to the international situation, especially in Latin America.

The delegation was also received by Army General Raul Castro, second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee.

During their visit, the Argentine party leaders were briefed on different projects the revolution is constructing, including the projects under construction by the Blas Roca Calderio Contingent. The PCA delegation also expressed interest in the progress of the rectification of errors and negative tendencies. The delegation expressed its complete satisfaction with the talks held in Cuba, especially those with Fidel and Raul.

Castro Presides Over University Students' Meeting

FL3010210389 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 2002 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba and president of the Councils of State and Ministers, is presiding in Havana over the meeting of the full National Council of the Federation of University Students [FEU].

The meeting is attended by 161 delegates from all the higher education centers throughout the country, as well as Central State Administration leaders and university deacons and rectors.

The meeting of the full FEU National Council is analyzing the current status and fulfillment of the agreements reached during the Third FEU Congress, as well as the printing and distribution of textbooks and the new study plans and programs.

The meeting will also focus its attention on academic cheating, wide scope studies, construction of higher education centers, and the link between education, productivity, and research.

Fidel, Raul Castro Delegates to CTC Congress

FL3010175589 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Commander in Chief Fidel Castro and Army General Raul Castro have been elected in Holguin as delegates to the 16th labor congress as representatives of their home area. This was decided by the fifth meeting of the Cuban Workers Federation [CTC] in the province. Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, member of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC] Politburo, and Pedro Ross Leal, secretary of the PCC Central Committee and chairman of the committee organizing the congress, presided over the event held at the Celia Sanchez Manduley Theater, located at the PCC provincial headquarters.

Minister Addresses CTC Congress Committee

FL2710162289 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1502 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] During a meeting in Havana of the commission organizing the 16th congress of the Cuban Workers Federation [CTC], Sugar Minister Juan Herrera said: We are obligated, more than ever, to attain efficiency in the harvest. The sugar minister said that national conditions are favorable for promoting effectiveness in agro-industrial work, which is attained, first of all, with discipline that begins on the 1st day of the main operations. It is preferable, he said, to turn off the machines in sugar mills that report insufficiencies in the quality of the cane, are behind schedule in grinding raw material, or have other problems, and resume production when these difficulties have been resolved, rather than maintain these deficiencies throughout the entire harvest.

In conclusion, the sugar minister stressed that today's primary tasks are to win the battles of sugar production and achieve an efficient harvest. Herrera recalled how other problems, like mechanization, were solved in previous harvests.

Raul Castro Tours Sancti Spiritus, Villa Clara

FL2810132689 Havana Radio Reloj Network in Spanish 1203 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Army General Raul Castro has toured areas of economic and social interest in the provinces of Sancti Spiritus and Villa Clara, where he observed the workers' efforts at development.

In Sancti Spiritus, the minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces [FAR] visited the agricultural-livestock mountain school located in (Topes de Joyantes) where he spoke with students.

As part of the development process in Villa Clara, Raul visited the scientific-technical unit for coffee research where he saw different varieties of coffee. Afterward, Raul visited the Youth Labor Army camp in Yara.

In conclusion, the second secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], along with full and alternate members of the PCC Politburo and FAR generals and officers, placed flowers at the monument to Commander Ernesto Che Guevara in Villa Clara's Revolution Square.

Raul Castro Presides Over Cienfuegos Ceremony

FL2810184989 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Moments ago, Army General Raul Castro Ruz, second secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba [PCC], presided over the political ceremony and military review in Yaguajay marking the 30th anniversary of the death of Commander Camilo Cienfuegos. With the laying of a floral wreath, the minister of the Revolutionary Armed Forces inaugurated a sculpture that perpetuates the memory of the exemplary fighter. Prior to this, Raul toured the museum located at the foot of the monument that contains displays showing important moments in the life of the vanguard gentleman.

The closing remarks at the ceremony were given by Division General Sergio del Valle Jimenez, member of the PCC Central Committee and of the Antonio Maceo Column No 2. [passage omitted]

UN Official Meets Economic Cooperation Minister

FL3010191389 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Today, Ernesto Melendez, minister president of the State Committee for Economic Cooperation, CECE, held talks with Augusto Ramirez Ocampo, director of the Latin American regional bureau of the UN Development Program, UNDP. They analyzed the progress of UNDP-funded cooperation projects and the outlook of the assistance.

The United Nations is developing its program for assistance to developing countries in 5-year periods. The fifth cycle is under way in Cuba, encompassing the period 1987-1991. The financial support of the projects amounts to approximately $11.6 million.

Mr Ramirez Ocampo arrived in Havana last night. He will visit centers receiving UNDP aid. Agriculture, fisheries, industries, and public health are among the sectors that will benefit. Our country is among the countries with highest performance and use of financial resources allocated by the UNDP.

Machado Urges Workers To Defend Socialism

FL3010194089 Havana Radio Rebelde Network in Spanish 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Jose Ramon Machado Ventura, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, has delivered the closing speech at the fifth provincial conference of the Cuban Workers Federation in Holguin.

[Begin Machado Ventura recording] We know our problems, and we know quite well who our enemy is. We know quite well that any fracture in the unity of our people, any weakness will be used by that enemy who has been after us since the very advent of the revolution—in addition to having exploited us before the revolution—that is, U.S. imperialism, which continues to seek ways to eliminate our revolution. It has never wasted a minute in this effort. We are aware of this. Thus, we are building our socialism under rather difficult circumstances. We cannot even blink an eye or play with certain things. This is something very serious. We will pay a dear price if we make the slightest mistake.

All workers should be aware of this because they are in the best position to appreciate the meaning of the revolution. Our people are made up of workers; the large majority of our people are aware of the situation. This is why we are prepared and willing to defend our revolution, and we are willing to do whatever is necessary, as I said earlier, to maintain and defend our socialism. [applause] [end recording]

Internationalist Combatants Return From Angola

Welcomed by Politburo Member

FL2710141389 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Over 150 internationalist combatants arrived in the fatherland last night after having victoriously fulfilled their mission in the People's Republic of Angola. They were welcomed by Commander of the Revolution Juan Almeida Bosque, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo.

The internationalists earned medals and awards in recognition of their heroic actions in the defense of the sovereignty and independence of our brother Angolan nation. All the combatants wore the Cuba-Angola Victory Medal and one wore the Ignacio Agramonte Medal.

Also present at the airport were Division General Romarico Sotomayor [rank as heard], vice minister of the Ministry of the Interior, and Brigade General [rank as heard] Leonardo Andollo Valdes, representing the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

First Phase Completed

FL3010125989 Havana Tele-Rebelde Network in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] The first phase [as heard] of the withdrawal timetable of Cuban troops from Angola, consisting of 25,000 combatants, has been completed early with the return to the country of two more groups of internationalist combatants, who flew in in the last few hours. The internationalists were received by Hector Rodriguez Llompart, member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, among other officials.

The last group to arrive, called victory contingent of the 25,000, is part of the southern troops. Combatant number 25,000, Captain (Rene Duboi) from Holguin, fought in Cuito Cuanavale as chief of the third artillery group. Because of his courage, this young combatant wears seven medals, the Calixto Garcia among them. A large group traveling by sea to the fatherland is also among the 25,000 internationalists.

Domincan Republic

Spain Requests Extradition of Basque Separatists

FL2710122089 Hilversum International Service in English 1030 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Spain has asked the Dominican Republic for the extradition of two members of the Basque Separatist Movement, ETA. The two, Carmen Gonzalez Peralva and Manuel Suarez Gamboa, were earlier this year extradited to the Dominican Republic by Algeria. They are wanted in connection with the murder of a Spanish Navy admiral.

Haiti

General Avril Hosts Meeting on National Justice

FL3010171089 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1300 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] The president of the military government, Lieutenant General Prosper Avril, on 26 October, in the Salles des Bustes of the National Palace met with the Republic's prefects, the commanders of the different military districts and of the nation's simple police, and the representatives of the Department of the Public Prosecutor to the Republic's courts of the first instance. Some 21 prefects, 32 commanders, and 15 representatives of the Department of the Public Prosecutor responded to this summons from the chief of state. The meeting was held in the presence of the Minister of Interior and National Defense Brigadier General Acedius St. Louis, Justice Minister Augustin Romain Ceme, Information and Coordination Minister Rosemarie Nazon, Haitian Armed Forces interim commander in chief Major General Herard Abraham, and Sergeant-Major Joseph Heubreux.

Gen Avril, who opened the meeting, said the objective of the meeting was to make the auxiliaries of the judiciary in Haiti, such as the forces of order, aware of the state of agony Haitian justice is in. He said the meeting was being held to have justice dispensed in such a manner as to have everyone receive justice nationally.

President Avril spoke of the 17 September government's desire to see justice dispensed properly in Haiti, to see everyone receive justice. The general said that is why his government went ahead and created the Office for the Protection of the Citizenry.

Also, making a survey of the struggle our (?blacks) waged before independence, the chief of state said that 200 years have passed since that first political congress was held at Bois Caiman [historical event, a slave meeting where it was decided to revolt against the French]. He added that we have been independent for 186 years, and despite all the efforts made by our ancestors to give us these remarkable acquisitions, we are still unemployed and living in hunger, ignorance, and illiteracy.

Aware of all these things, (?since) 17 September 1988, continued Gen Avril, the government in place has been laying the foundations for a rule of law in Haiti. It is in view of all these things that the government created the Office for the Protection of the Citizenry after the issuance of the decree aimed at distributing government land to needy peasants. Thus, said Gen Avril, each military district commander, each prefect, and each representative of the Department of the Public Prosecutor should consider himself an agent of the government and spread the news throughout Haiti, as well as ensure that these measures are applied normally, impartially.

We will have you listen to an excerpt of what President Avril said in his speech on this occasion.

[Begin recording] We are meeting today to talk about a subject that I, as president of the military government, consider very important. It is very important because it concerns the protection of the citizenry.

It is an important subject because, as you know, it is a subject that is the basis of all the discussions and debates going on in connection with what we can call the attempt to establish a rule of law in this country.

Why is this subject important in the context of the establishment of a rule of law? Because in a country, we cannot speak of justice when this justice is not within the reach of the real population. I could say, (?rather), that justice is not accessible, at all (?stages) of procedure, (?for) the real population.

As you know, there are established judiciary structures constructed in such a way as to ensure the society the dispensation of proper justice, to ensure that justice will be properly served. However, what have we noticed? The very systems of protection set up so that justice can be properly applied are the same systems that are the reason justice will never be able to be properly applied, until we come up with structures that will allow everyone access to this justice.

What happens in the majority of cases, especially for people without money? We have noticed that after 185 years of independence, the Haitian people—the peasants—are still living in abject poverty. Why? Well, it looks to us as if it is because they are never protected. They are never given enough protection to (?enable them to) defend their rights. [end recording]

After Gen Avril, Justice Minister Augustin Romain Ceme spoke. He began by reading the decree creating the Office for the Protection of the Citzenry and the legal services within the Justice Ministry. He also read the different articles that define the roles of both of these institutions.

After that, the debates were opened. The participants presented their problems and complaints to the chief of state and the three ministers present. They all answered the questions asked by the participants regarding the problems they are confronting in the areas they head.

Last, Gen Avril asked for the understanding of all the authorities of justice department institutions in Haiti. He asked them to help the government establish a rule of law throughout Haiti to safeguard the acquisitions of 17 September 1988 so that justice will at last really be dispensed impartially to everyone in Haiti.

This meeting was held at the Salle des Bustes of the National Palace in Port-au-Prince on 26 October.

Government Issues Decree on Drug Trafficking

FL2710182889 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1300 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] The Haitian Government has issued a decree dated 28 September 1989 concerning illegal drug trafficking in Haiti. This decree (?mentions) Article 54 of the decree of 18 December 1975, modified by the law of 7 June 1982 and details the following:

Anyone found guilty of illegal trafficking in drugs—either as the authors of, or accomplices to, such trafficking; and either directly or indirectly, having provided either the means to transport the drug, or any financial means, or having provided any logistic means whatsoever in general—well, a person having contributed in any way to the carrying out of a crime planned or carried out will be sentenced to from 5-20 years imprisonment and a fine of from 500,000-5 million gourdes. Under the terms of this decree, should the person be unable to pay the fine, his sentence will be doubled.

If it is a matter of importation, exportation, transit, or production—illegal, illicit fabrication—the drug trafficker will be sentenced to from 10-20 years imprisonment and a fine of from 10-20 million gourdes.

If there is violence or deaths during the execution of a criminal act, in addition to the fine, the person will be sentenced to 30 years imprisonment. If the person is unable to pay the fine, the person will be imprisoned for life, says this decree dated 28 September 1989.

In both cases, the court will also sentence the guilty party to the secondary sentences provided for in Article 28 of the Penal Code.

The fines will go into the public treasury, as will the results of the sale of the entire personal estate and all the real estate belonging to the person sentenced, says this communique dated 28 September 1989.

The Haitian Government has taken all these measures to rid the nation of drugs, which are a true scourge for Haitian youth.

The illicit use and trafficking of drugs constitutes a real curse, and the government must manage to eliminate it in one way or another. The government also considers it indispensable to buttress the judiciary's action against this evil, which is expanding more and more, throughout the world. To protect the Haitian family from this scourge, the penal dispositions of the decree of 10

December 1975 and the law of 7 June 1982 regarding drugs (?had to be) reinforced, at the recommendation of the Ministries of Justice, Interior and National Defense, and Public Health and Population.

It is for this reason that the Haitian Government has issued the 28 September 1989 decree to block illegal drug trafficking in Haiti.

It was on 28 September that the Haitian military government headed by General Prosper Avril took this measure here in Haiti to cooperate in the struggle against drugs.

Electoral Council To Alter Election Calendar

FL2710190389 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] The members of the Permanent Electoral Council [CEP] have decided to make some technical touchups in the election calendar, a calendar which has given rise to much discussion these last few days—in fact, since it was published. Some sectors say it is not very good but that they will try to work with it. While other political sectors say it is impossible, that things cannot be done that way and that the CEP must reverse itself. Thus the members of the council have indeed decided to make some slight alterations to reach an understanding with everyone. Here is a report on this matter from our colleague Frankel Valentin:

[Valentin] CEP Management Council President Louis Antoine Auguste told us in an interview that there are going to be some technical rearrangements of the election calendar. This touchup in the calendar is going to be made after hearing diverse suggestions from political leaders and prominent figures who are interested in election matters, leaders and political personalities who acknowledge the CEP's authority and who have agreed to sit down and talk with the council.

This also explains the strategy of collaboration that the CEP has adopted and that it continues to pursue.

[Begin Auguste recording] It is a calendar that the Haitian people themselves formulated. Now, we ourselves contributed with certain technical rearrangements. These rearrangements were contributed by us.

Regarding the fundamental choices made by the Haitian people, we will not modify them. However, the technical rearrangements, the things we nine members of the council decided on ourselves, well, those we can adjust. We are going to (?make)....[changes thought] The people from the political sector, you know—the political parties, especially those that approved of our initiatives, those who acknowledge the CEP's authority regarding the organization of elections, those who trust us and who are participating with us to see if they can somehow improve the effectiveness of our action. [sentence as heard] These people came to see us and made recommendations and suggestions that we are going to take and, when we have finished listening to all these people, we are all nine going to meet, to make a synthesis and see what we can integrate, and reshape....[changes thought] What we can do is make some technical rearrangements, right? That's how we see things. [passage omitted]

We cannot modify the fundamental choices arising from the inquiry we made. [end recording]

[Valentin] Mr Auguste thinks the strategy of dialogue and the suggestions they are receiving will neither cast doubt on nor sacrifice the independence of the CEP. He also thinks that, should the suggestions of one political party or another not be retained by the members of the CEP, this shouldn't create any conflict between political parties vis-a-vis the electoral council. Mr Auguste thinks, furthermore, that we are in a democracy; thus, it is difficult for everyone to agree 100 percent on any given matter.

[Begin Auguste recording] We are independent. We are independent—and I point this out once again to Radio Soleil listeners—not just from the executive branch of the government but also from the political parties and from foreign pressure groups, from both Haitian and foreign pressure groups.

That's how it is, as far as independence is concerned. We don't have to take orders from anyone. Nevertheless, we are working for the Haitian people. We are democrats. We aren't perfect. We're not God. We can make mistakes. We can miss things. It is therefore normal for us to listen to people when making a decision. If there are little things to be rectified, we should rectify them.

(?What we are doing doesn't mean) that we are taking orders from political parties. On the contrary! We are listening to the Haitian people, to the political parties, so that if they have suggestions and recommendations to make to us, they can make them. However, we can't say: No, no, that is not how you should see the problem. That is not the way we see it. (?But just) because they make suggestions (?we listen to) doesn't mean that we are going to accept everything they say. We are going to draw our own conclusions, and [words indistinct]. Don't forget that there are people in favor and people against everything they say, right?

Thus, we would like to insist on this. Just because they make recommendations and suggestions to us that we find valid and that we intergrate into the system, well, this does not mean we are sacrificing independence. [end recording]

Mr Auguste said, further, that the three-member committee in charge of writing the draft electoral law has finished its work. Now, all CEP members must meet to study the draft and receive suggestions from the leaders before submitting the electoral law to the executive so that the executive can publish it next November or December. At that time, they will also make public the touch ups they are making in the electoral calendar.

How are the Departmental Electoral Bureaus, BED's; Communal Electoral Bureaus, BEC's; and Local Electoral Bureaus, BEL's going to be chosen?

[Begin Auguste recording] Well, we haven't yet definitely decided on the mechanisms, on how we are going to choose them. However, the principle that is going to guide us is that we would like for the people who are going to work in the CEP—both at the level of the central bureau and at the level of the BED's, the BEC's and the BEL's that will be in the rural sections—well, we would like for all these people to be trustworthy, to be people who are competent, well motivated, and trustworthy, to be people the population will not too...[rephrases] won't contest.

We haven't yet....[changes thought] There might be rumors and gossip. You know us very well. We are not going to base ourselves on such things. However, we are (?going to)...[rephrases] the people we are going to try to place are people safe from any criticism, people who can do their work in a thoroughly impartial manner. These are the criteria that are going to guide us.

As you know, the CEP was formed by different sectors: the executive branch of the government (?of course), but there are also other sectors involved. Thus, we are going to take into account all these criteria and come up with a proper proportion, right? This is to choose people in such a way that everyone will feel more or less represented. [end recording]

One of the CEP's biggest preoccupations today is the preparation of the new headquarters the government has just given it, on Pavee Street, said the CEP's new [as heard] president.

Regarding the internal problems existing among the members of the CEP themselves, the president thinks that the CEP should function like a model democracy. It is the choice of the majority of the members that should win out. The nine council members do not all have the same education nor do they have the same approach to democracy. Thus, no one can expect them to agree on everything that is discussed. The CEP members get along fine, he says. He doesn't feel anybody needs to make a big deal out of this.

Regional Representatives Censure CEP Calendar

FL2710183789 Port-au-Prince Radio Haiti-Inter in Creole 2000 GMT 24 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Still within the framework of the mobilization against the government, a group of 14 people who claim they represent the Department of the Artibonite have discussed the election calendar. In a press release dated 19 October that they have sent us, they say they will not allow any Provisional/Permanent Electoral Council [CEP] office to open in the Artibonite unless this calendar is changed.

They explain that the population of the Artibonite can no longer tolerate the hunger, poverty, and high cost of living adversely effecting the poor of the Artibonite. They say the poor of the Artibonite can no longer take the bad measures of the CEP, which has been messing up for the past 6 months.

They say the CEP has purposely put out a vile election calendar so that the CEP members can block the elections and continue to draw big salaries. [passage omitted]

These people say that there are also certain foreigners who want to do something crooked, too, with General Avril, so as to appoint a president, senators, and deputies.

These people say that for all these reasons, the Artibonite will not accept the CEP's fake calendar. The Artibonite will not allow any CEP office to open in the Artibonite unless the calendar is changed, the way the leaders [not further identified] are asking.

This is the position of 14 people who say they are delegates of the population of the Artibonite. [passage omitted]

In this same connection, we have received a press release from the central plateau in which four delegates say they represent several section chief assistants, who met on the (Bouyaya) Estate. They also declare, in a letter they have sent the leader of the coalition made up of the Mobilization for National Development, Movement for the Organization of the Country, and National Agricultural and Industrial Party coalition and the National Assemblage, that they are not in favor of the electoral calendar put out by the third CEP. Here is what they say:

We section chief assistants in the central plateau have agreed with many section chiefs to not allow any CEP office to open in the central plateau. [passage omitted]

We have risen up for a joint mobilization. We are awaiting the watchword to march on Port-au-Prince.

As we said, this is a letter from four men who claim to be section chief assistants in the central plateau and who say they are speaking for several section chief assistants in the area.

This declaration is signed by: (Jude Brezeau), coordinator; (Valery Dorfeuille), delegate; (Dunel Cormier), Hinche correspondent; and (Beatrice Mathieu), delegate.

Organization Condemns Army Action at EDH Plant

FL2710182689 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] The General and Independent Organization of Haitian Workers, OGITH, condemns the Haitian Army occupation on 21 October, of Electricite d'Haiti [EDH, the national power company]. On the evening of 21 October, two Army detachments showed up at (?an) EDH (?plant) during a technical power failure affecting the capital. The soldiers intimidated, pressured, and

threatened—especially—the EDH union, which the military claimed had caused this power failure purposely, to bring down the government.

OGITH totally condemns the ineptitude of the Army and the government, which can't tell the difference between a technical power failure and a movement to overthrow the government because it cannot see clearly into a situation that is becoming more distressing every day—especially because the general is not able to really hide what he harbors at the back of his mind.

A matter like this is not something that should be kept quiet because dictatorships always begin with accusations against all the organizations the dictatorship is not able to bring under control with money, repression, espionage, pressure, threats, and so forth. The unions are always the first to be affected because it is the unions that constitute democracy's defense. It is good union organizations that are the hope of the working class and the nation.

OGITH continues: We must consider this act an attack on freedom of association because the Army promised to crush a union because of a technical power failure; and especially when we know that despite the fact that EDH brings in a lot of money for the government, it is not in very good shape; (?and) when we know that EDH's money is not used for EDH.

In protest, we have sent two telex messages of protest abroad: one to the International Labor Organization and the other to the Regional Interamerican Organization of Workers of Free Union Federations, asking them to help Haitian workers with these governments, which refuse to function properly unless pushed by money pressures.

There must be a union to make EDH serve the nation even better. It is not the Army's role to pressure any union, nor to shoot at anyone, nor to help anyone remain in power permanently! The Army's role is to defend the nation from forceful invasions by other countries. It is the Army's role to help the population and the police find peace—peace in the streets and the peace of mind of everyone whose business with the Justice Department is in order.

It is true that we all need an Army for the nation. However, no one needs an Army that does things like 29 November [1986, election day massacre], (?and) 13 October and 21 October 1989. (?Despite the fact that) certain people are going around mumbling reconciliation, reconciliation, we will not reconcile with an Army that holds news conferences to condemn those who are victims and those who denounce (?the current) situation.

OGITH will never accept any irresponsible and antinational corps snatching from the workers' hands their right to organize to defend themselves and to participate in the development of their society. The forces of evil in Haiti must understand this clearly.

The unions have reached a level of organization at which all hope of uprooting the roots in Haiti has been lost. [sentence as heard]

EDH union, Dak International union, OGITH and international solidarity is with you! Continue to fight, (?through) proper organization and (?through) education, for the triumph of social justice in this nation, which belongs to all Haitians. Social justice and democracy are not possible without solid, independent, responsible, militant, and democratic unions.

This is a press release from OGITH, which censures the Army action at (?an) EDH (?plant) on 21 October, during which the soldiers claimed that the reason for the power failure affecting the capital was to allow them [not further identified] to overthrow General Avril's government.

Union Plans Protest Over Carrefour Road

FL2710183189 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1100 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The Union Federation of Public Transportation Vehicle Drivers [CSTP] [a Confederation of Haitian Workers [CTH] affiliate] has announced a strike on the Carrefour Road for the beginning of November. [passage omitted]

The CSTP has been mobilized on the distressing situation along the Carrefour Road since September. They had given the government a deadline on this matter that expired on 24 September.

The minister of public works called them on 22 September and set up a meeting with them on 25 September. At that meeting, says Union Secretary General (Naly Beauharnais), they did not see the minister. They saw only a few officials who told them that the money had never reached their hands at that ministry. They told (Beauharnais) the Finance Ministry was responsible for the matter.

[Begin (Beauharnais) recording] What we are fighting for is the money that came in, money that was to be used to build the Carrefour Road. The men we met with were not able to give us a full explanation. However, they, too, knew that the money had come in, but the money did not get to the Ministry of Public Works. [passage omitted]

However, what greatly shocked, saddened, and angered all the drivers is the fact that in a recent declaration, the finance minister said the money in question had remained blocked at the level of the World Bank. The drivers say this is not true because the Carrefour Road was going to be built. It had already been traced. (?Its path had already been laid out.) Everyone whose homes had to be expropriated had been paid. Suddenly, we hear that the money didn't come in!

We are wondering: Is it that Carrefour is considered a useless area, an area they do not need?

That is why I say we have to meet with the finance minister. [passage omitted] However, whether we meet with the minister or not, we are going to effect a 24-hour warning strike and block the Carrefour Road to [words indistinct] solution.

The drivers are not asking that the road be built in 2 or 3 months. What they are asking for is a clearer explanation. They want the government to tell them how far the road is going to go, where it is going to be, and the drivers are asking for one more thing, a very simple thing. They say that even if it takes 1 year to build the road, they ask that the Department of Public Works do some work on the road in front of the Haitian Navy—it is only some 5 or 6 km—just so the drivers can (?use the detour). We understand that it might take a long time to build the Carrefour Road. However, they could quickly provide the drivers with a temporary solution. [passage omitted]

We know the finance minister said the money was in the World Bank. This isn't true at all. [passage omitted]

We are not asking for them to build the road right now. We are asking for them to tell us when they are going to build it. [passage omitted]

Thus if we get no clear response, we will go on a 24-hour strike during the first week of November—perhaps from 2-3 November. [end recording]

(Beauharnais) also thinks that if bigshots lived along the Carrefour road, all these problems would have been solved a long time ago.

[Begin (Beauharnais) recording] [Passage omitted] As you know, it takes 5 hours to get from Jeremie to Carrefour and 3 hours to get through the Carrefour area to Port-au-Prince. This means that people in Jeremie arealso affected by this problem of the Carrefour Road. The Carrefour Road is, after all, National Highway No 2. [passage omitted]

We will go on a peaceful strike. We are not going to trash people's vehicles or anything like that. This is a matter of conscience. Everybody knows what the Carrefour Road is like. [passage omitted] Everybody should stay off the Carrefour Road on that day, but peacefully. When I say stay off it, I do not mean we are going to throw rocks or anything like that! I think everyone will understand. [passage omitted] We will block the Carrefour Road for a day. [passage omitted]

If some millionaire, or some minister, or some general lived along the Carrefour Road, the road would have already been built! [passage omitted] [end recording]

Movement for Democracy Opens National Congress

FL3010190589 Port-au-Prince Radio Soleil Network in Creole 1000 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Excerpts] The Movement For the Establishment of Democracy in Haiti, MIDH, opened its second national congress at the Meridien Night Club, Sunday 29 October. The theme of the congress is: "Democracy, Human Rights, and Economic Development."

Many prominent figures, as well as delegates from political parties from abroad spoke at this congress—for example, the Dominican Social Bloc, the Dominican Liberation Party, and a representative of the U.S. Congress. These people expressed their support and solidarity for the MIDH before the 4,000 MIDH members that MIDH leaders said were present at the opening of this congress.

During his almost 1 and ½ hour speech on the occasion, MIDH leader Marc Bazin drew a balance sheet of the MIDH, saying MIDH is the result of a reaction by men and women whose ambition it is to see the nation have honor, dignity, and justice. Haiti is a country considered an example of how black men cannot rule themselves because of things like the deforestation, the boat people, the inability to organize power between the government and the citizens, and the fact that Haitians rip one another apart.

(?Given) the nation's woes, MIDH thinks scorn of the people and the practices of a dictatorship are (?not) the solution. MIDH thinks there must be democracy to liberate the nation's citizens and turn them into responsible people, by giving them a means, the structures, with which to control their leaders.

For this reason, MIDH declares, democracy is not a slogan. Rather, it is a combination of the Christian spirit and a sense of personal initiative, plus social commitment.

Mr Bazin also denounced the form of authoritarian government that is leading the nation with a system that does not even have a good judicial system—with nepotism and/or preferential treatment, corruption, intimidation, poverty, and ignorance rampant.

Bazin also said the MIDH is neither rightist nor leftist nor pro-West nor pro-East. Rather, MIDH is a party of the center with social inspiration. MIDH thinks that if we want to achieve justice and progress, it is indispensable that there be several well-structured political parties in the arena and that every Haitian must join some political party.

MIDH warned traditional politicians against trying to take power through crooked wheeling and dealing of any kind. Marc Bazin said they would be exposing the nation to even greater economic problems.

Phony transfers of power are destroying the nation. Consequently, the evolution of (?the entire society) must go through the national sovereignty, on the basis of civic action and action taken by the Haitian people themselves, waged along with the political parties.

Marc Bazin also spoke of the three types of political forces that exist in Haiti. The first type is the forces (?that are) capable of analysis and that offer useful solutions. The second type is the forces that denounce

without offering anything except disorder and corruption. The third type is those that do not belong to either the first or the second types but are waiting to take power by any and all means. Listen to what MIDH thinks about the nation's current situation.

[Begin Bazin recording] We propose a government reform plan based on departmentalization. We propose a $1.2 billion plan to ensure health care, education, housing, nutrition, and employment for Haitians. The Senate....[changes thought] We had proposed a plan for reforming the monetary system well before people started babbling about the International Monetary Fund. [passage omitted]

Our country today is blocked economically and in a state of suspension politically. [laughter, applause] [passage omitted] [end recording]

The MIDH thinks the solution lies in holding elections, so that the nation can have a government that has a different political morality, so that the Haitian Government can work for the Haitian people instead of the Haitian people working for the Haitian Government. We need elections to put an end to this business of a presidency for life and daily coups d'etat.

Marc Bazin also talked about the coalition and about how the government operated in Haiti.

[Begin Bazin recording, in progress, in French] ...a government that is into cooking oil, flour, sugar, and wheat bran [applause] while we are literally walking around falling into holes, while we are submerged in trash, while 90 percent of children under 5 die of diahrrea—that is, from dirty water—and while 90 percent of the people can't read or write. [changes to Creole] I mean, what are you saying to me? Don't talk to me about a welfare state! Call it, rather, a maleficent state!

[Bazin changes to French] Consequently, what we need is not a pseudogovernment, not a man who is the government, but a real government, a modern government capable of defining an economic framework within which the government does what it ought to do and does not permit itself to do what it shouldn't [scattered applause]. We need an economic framework in which the government does not issue orders to, or control, the private sector but in which the government lays out transparent rules, rules which are the same for all, within which (?there can be) healthy competition. [applause] That is what the alliance wants.

The alliance is not an association dictated by the (?impetus) of emotions. The alliance is a point of departure, rather than a point of arrival. [end recording] [passage omitted]

At the end of the opening of this congress, we interviewed the representative of the National Committee of the Congress of Democratic Movement [Conacom], Victor Benoit. Benoit agreed to discuss the coalition with us, to tell us how he sees it and tell us under what conditions Conacom would join the coalition.

[Begin Benoit recording] We in Conacom are (?always) open to the idea of rallying the democratic forces. However, for the following reasons, we are not willing to join this alliance that has been formed—or other alliances that have been formed. There are both reasons of form and reasons of substance.

Regarding form, since we are democrats and say we are struggling for democracy, democratic principles must be respected in everythng we do. We think the procedure that should have been applied by the parties to form this alliance was not respected. I mean, we cannot form an alliance without prior discussion between the party leaderships about the short-term objective to be attained, the objective to be attained tomorrow—that is, at the level of managing the country—without our having a common action program and without signing a protocol among ourselves, for example.

Also, the matter must not concern only the party leaderships. The parties' grassroots must also state clearly what they think about this. [passage omitted] Such an alliance would have to be ratified by our grassroots.

If it is not done this way, you will see that all the alliances formed (?will) not really have a popular base. They will merely be understandings reached among the party leaderships, and the parties' grassroots will not (?cooperate).

In any case, in Conacom, there is no question of our making any kind of alliance without first negotiating the matter with our grassroots.

That's regarding form. Now, regarding substance because all these alliances that have been formed are alliances to reach power—let's say, to push someone into the presidency—automatically, as you can well understand, there must be power sharing, right? I mean, because we are different parties, and all. [passage omitted]

If there are differences among us, and we get together anyway; we must have reached agreement on a number of matters—for example, how we are going to hold elections.

This alliance has spoken of a single list of candidates. We of Conacom cannot go and join an alliance that speaks of a single list of candidates without sitting down with the political parties to find out how strong and how likely to get elected each organization really is in each area. [passage omitted]

There would have to be power sharing because it is a matter of taking power, within the framework of the alliance. There would have to be very clear statements on this. This is not something that can merely be said over the radio or at a congress.

To launch watchwords, or wishes, concerning alliances is a very good thing, right? However, the problem is that the way things are being done, well, we do not think it is

democratic. Thus, we ourselves say that we will not have anything to do with these things. [end recording]

Currency Problem Affects Air France Sales

FL2710184089 Port-au-Prince Radio Metropole in French 1600 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Report by Nancy Roc]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Air France's administration decided just before last weekend to suspend all its ticket sales operations in Haiti. Air France director Mr (Faure) says this is due to the currency exchange legislation currently in force in Haiti and to the fact that the airline cannot transfer its income. Mr (Faure) told us, however, that this suspension was only temporary.

Travelers may henceforth obtain an Air France ticket by having it bought for them overseas or by paying for the ticket with an international credit card. For customers with no credit cards, a certain, limited, number of tickets that can be paid for in gourdes will be available on the Haitian market. Here is Mr (Faure):

[Begin (Faure) recording] This decision comes after last July's exchange resolutions, which cause us problems in transferring our income. When our accounts reach a certain stage, we say to ourselves: Careful, because we are going to reach a point where we will have balances that are too great, which we will not be able to transfer. [passage omitted] We have taken measures that we apply elsewhere. That is, we limit our sales to the amount of money we spend in the country. When I say expenditures, I mean salaries, kerosene, and even investment expenses. But not more than that. [passage omitted] Also, this is only temporary. It is merely a means of reestablishing a (?more or less) acceptable balance of funds. [passage omitted] [end recording]

In the 19 October LE NOUVELLISTE, a civil aviation administration source explained—and we quote—that the foreign airlines in Haiti are all facing a serious problem of how to repatriate the income generated by their operations in Haiti. This source added that the Banque de la Republic d'Haiti, BRH, bears a great part of the responsibility for this situation because—and we are still quoting—the BRH has never followed up on the repeated requests by the foreign airlines to be allowed to use at least a part of the currency to be repatriated. End quote. [sentence as heard]

Thus, we asked Mr (Faure), during this interview, if he held the BRH responsible for his company's decision to temporarily stop all sales operations in Haiti.

[Begin recording] [(Faure)] Well, our difficulties are indeed transfer difficulties—the fact that our income, which is, incidentally, earmarked for paying expenses abroad, expenses in foreign currency....[changes thought] Thus, we must be able to change our income and to transfer it.

The difficulty lies in the fact that there isn't enough foreign currency. There aren't really any transfer possibilities, and there aren't enough dollars to supply industrial [words indistinct] of which we are a part.

[Roc] But don't you think the BRH is partially responsible?

[(Faure)] I don't think so, because in the transparency that was displayed in the press recently, the sums given to the commercial banks do not cover the needs of the airlines. [end recording]

However, we must point out that we contacted the director of another airline, who asked to remain anonymous. He told us that all airlines undoubtedly had problems repatriating income.

While according to Mr (Faure) Air France has $300,000 blocked in the bank, the director of this other company told us that his company had $1 million currently blocked in the bank.

Furthermore, other sources have informed us that approximately $3 million, belonging to all the airlines, were currently blocked in the bank because of the shortage of foreign currency on the Haitian market.

This director, who asked to remain anonymous, termed this sum reasonable. He told us that the BRH was indeed partially responsible because the BRH has been promising for years to put dollars at the disposal of merchants but has so far never kept those promises.

Monthly Forum Highlights Lack of Leadership

FL3010173589 Port-au-Prince Radio Nationale in Creole 1300 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Excerpts] "The Political System and Personal Leadership in Haiti," "The Political System and Social Movements," and "The Political System and Political Parties" were the topics developed 26 October, at the Thursday Free Forum at the Toussaint Louverture Hall of the Holiday Inn Le Plaza Hotel on the Champ de Mars. One of our reporters, Louis Seize France, will tell us what was said and what was very interesting about the meeting:

[France] [Passage omitted] The topic "The Political System and Personal Leadership" was developed by Dr Carlo Desinor, "The Political System and Social Movements" by Mrs Sabine Manigat, and "The Political System and Political Parties" by Serges Gilles.

Each speaker highlighted the critical aspect of Haiti's political system. They said Haitian politics is very much centered on tradition. They also said that the reason the country has not been able to catch its breath is because there is an absence of leadership in Haiti. They also made reference to the 30 years of the Duvaliers, which eliminated the competence (?and) all the values of political parties in Haiti. They said this was also the reason why, after the Duvaliers' departure on 7 February 1986, power was divided, with the population not trusting

anyone at all (?from among those) who had been struggling since around 1980 to overthrow this regime. Such men include Hubert de Ronceray, Gregoire Eugene, and Sylvio Claude. These men were struggling on the terrain, but each with his own objective, which is the reason all these parties, associations, and political groups came to crop up like mushrooms in Haiti, with the idea that they could lead the country.

The speakers, as well as others attending the forum, commented that each individual Haitian needs to become aware to see not merely power but, first and foremost, the nation, placing national interest before personal interest.

Mrs Sabine Manigat said there was a systematic blocking effected by our political classes, (?through their poor organization), which prevented social movements and political organizations from getting their demands acted on. She said the political grouos are poorly organized. She said nothing is organized in Haiti and that this is the reason many Haitians are very anxious. [passage omitted]

Mr Gilles gave a lengthy history of political parties in Haiti, which he said never last. [passage omitted]

We remind listeners that the Thursday Free Forum is held on the last (?Thursday) of every month at the Holiday Inn and is sponsored by the Centre Petion-Bolivar and the German Embassy.

Jamaica

Manley Concludes Talks With Mexican President

FL2710152089 Bonaire Trans World Radio in English 1130 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Jamaican Prime Minister Michael Manley has concluded his talks with Mexican President Carlos Salinas de Gortari. A Mexican Foreign Ministry spokesman says the issues covered by the two men include trade relations, scientific and cultural exchanges, and regional issues. Mr Manley will next head to the meeting of hemispheric leaders in Costa Rica.

Mr Manley will appear before a U.S. Senate committee to testify about his proposal for an international drug strike force. The Jamaican DAILY GLEANER newspaper reported that Mr Manley will address the Senate Judiciary Committee and its caucus on international narcotics control.

Trinidad and Tobago

House Chairman Resigns; Replacement Elected

FL3010194789 Bridgetown CANA in English 2223 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, Oct 28, CANA —Lennox Denoon is the new chairman of Tobago's governing House of Assembly. He replaces Jeff Davidson who resigned.

Denoon was elected this week at a regional council session. He takes up the post from next Wednesday as Davidson's resignation becomes effective on October 31.

Davidson, who took over the post in 1987 after former chairman, A.N.R. Robinson became prime minister, quietly offered his resignation and is yet to publicly explain the reason.

Davidson quit after months of complaints with the controlling National Alliance for Reconstruction (NAR) about the lack of action and direction within the party.

Castillo Accuses PRI of Betraying Revolution

PA3110040889 Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 22 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] Toluca, Mexico, 21 Oct—Speaking during a rally of the Party of the Democratic Revolution at the Toluca Civic Plaza, Heberto Castillo stressed that there was no treason by the PAN [National Action Party] in the PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party]-PAN alliance to get the "electoral counterreform" passed. However, he added there was treason by the PRI because it betrayed the principles of the Mexican revolution. This joint action should be no surprise; it is natural as the two parties have basic agreements.

In an interview, Castillo emphasized that the serious thing now is that the rightist PRI-PAN alliance controls two-thirds of the Chamber of Deputies and can proceed with reprivatization plans, beginning with banks, Mexican Petroleum, and the Federal Electricity Commission as this alliance can very well reach those extremes without stopping at purely electoral matters.

Parties Form Front 'To Defend Sovereignty'

PA3110034389 Mexico City UNOMASUNO in Spanish 22 Oct 89 p 5

[Text] Cancun, 21 October— According to a statement signed by leaders of the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], PPS [Popular Socialist Party], and PARM [Authentic Party of the Mexican Revolution], four political parties have decided to form a "common front to defend the country's sovereignty," as well as to strengthen the state economy and promote the immediate suspension of the payment of interest on the foreign debt.

Enrique Zurita Priego of the PPS explained that "it is not an electoral front" for the March 1990 elections (to renew state congressional seats and choose mayors), although it is feasible for the situation to lead to that, depending on how coordination goes for these parties in the next few weeks.

The communique indicates that the PFCRN [Cardenist Front for National Reconstruction Party] agrees with the creation of this front, although it has not signed the common agreement yet.

Tomas Contreras Castillo of the organizing commission of the PRD in Quintana Roo said that "the democratic and nationalist forces must join efforts to prevent the current administration from delivering us to foreign countries. [quotation marks as published]

Foreign Debt Reduced in 1st Half of 1989

PA3010210989 Mexico City THE NEWS in English 26 Oct 89 pp 1, A19

[Report by Jose Consuelos Garcia]

[Text] Mexico's total foreign debt was reduced by 17 billion dollars, to 93 billion dollars - a drop of 15.4 percent - in the first six months of 1989, the Finance Secretariat reported Thursday.

At the end of 1988, the debt was 110 billion dollars, said Luis Tellez, director of the secretariat's fiscal policy office and principal collaborator of Undersecretary for International Monetary Affairs Jose Angel Gurria in the debt renegotiation.

Key to the debt reduction was the continuation of the country's amortization program despite a lack of resources from abroad, he said.

Tellez said that the 93-billion dollar debt, only 78 billion dollars is public debt.

The other 15 billion dollars reepresent the debt of banks, Banco de Mexico (the central bank) and the private sector.

Sweder van Wijenberger of the World Bank said bank studies show that about 40 percent of creditor banks, almost 200, favor writing off 35 percent of Mexico's debt principal. The 35-percent cut is one of three options from which the country's creditor banks may choose under the debt reduction agreement.

Mexico is hoping that 20 percent of the more than 500 creditors banks accept the 35-percent cut instead of lending Mexico more money—the second option. The third option involves a hefty interest rate cut.

Van Wikenberger's statements would mean that the number of banks opting for the first option has doubled, from 100 to 200.

Sources said that Van Wijenberger has been in Mexico since Monday and that he met with Gurria to discuss the World Bank's expectation about Mexico's debt.

Tellez and Van Wijenberger took part in the Eighth National Economists Congress being held in the former National Preparatory School. Finance Secretary Pedro Aspe is scheduled to close the Congress on Friday.

* Growing Business Influence in PRI Claimed

90EM0005 Mexico City PROCESO in Spanish No 672 18 Sep 89 pp 6-9

[Article by Salvador Corro and Guillermo Correa; for the text of the 10 August Minatitlan, Veracruz address by PRI [Institutional Revolutionary Party] President Luis Donaldo Colosio on the role of the sectors in PRI, see the Latin America DAILY REPORT of 19 Sep 89 (FBIS-LAT-89-180) pp 14-16]

[Text] Although its leaders say the opposite, the modernization of the Institutional Revolutionary Party [PRI] has led to the destruction of its sectors. The workers sector has ceased to be its mainstay; the peasant sector is no longer even organized to vote, and the popular sector is merely a "shell" that could be displaced by a new and increasingly powerful sector: PRI businessmen.

Ever since Carlos Salinas de Gortari was nominated as a candidate for president of the Republic, the confrontation between the CTM [Confederation of Mexican Workers], the main labor confederation, and the PRI leadership has intensified. At the 110th National Regular Assembly of the CTM during the final days of August this year, the Political Commission asked PRI "to define the role that the worker sector, and in particular the CTM, deserves, because some voices have been saying that one way to renovate the party would be to decrease the influence of the sectors by turning the party into a political organization of individuals, not of the masses."

In the case of the peasants, who are represented in the party by the CNC [National Peasant Confederation], the dismantling is obvious. Their leadership is divided, and the confederation has been weakened, so much so that it has had to reach agreements with rural organizations that used to be its enemies. Its current overhaul is designed to salvage whatever can be, since its affiliates are rebelling against the corporativism and antidemocracy that they say prevail in their sector and their party.

Nevertheless, the "ugly duckling" in PRI right now is the National Confederation of Popular Organizations (CNOP). It has become an amorphous organization with no control over its members, with its bureaucracy in outright rebellion, with groups of colonia [urban community] residents who have taken refuge in the Party of the Democratic Revolution (PRD), with mounting irritation among street vendors and store owners, who are at odds with each other, and with a massive flight by the middle class to other parties. And as if this were not enough, the threat of being replaced by PRI's rising business sector is hanging over them.

Ricardo Tirado, the coauthor of the study "Los empresarios y el Estado en Mexico: un analisis politico" [Businessmen and the State in Mexico: A Political Analysis], sums things up:

"The ground that business groups have gained in the ruling party has translated into an unprecedented weakening of the labor sector, which along with the widespread discredit of the union leadership has made it even easier for its class enemies to take its place." He feels that PRI's sectors are undergoing a reshuffling and have ceased to be viable channels of political pressure for meeting economic and social demands.

Mexico's political modernization, as Luis Donaldo Colosio, the leader of PRI, defines it, requires a transformed party, which implies "giving free rein to a political culture that is based on democracy, pluralism, and liberty and that shatters the inertias of the past and the ideological superstitions and throwbacks that are still preventing the full flourishing of our own capabilities."

In practice, however, modernization means the crumbling of the sectors, starting with the CNOP, which, for example, was not included in the economic solidarity pacts, which were signed by the worker and peasant sectors and the representatives of the employers. It is thus no surprise that this past 24 July, in revealing the results of the foreign debt negotiations, the secretary of finance, Pedro Aspe Armella, began his speech at the National Palace, in the presence of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, with these words: "Mr President of the Republic, Distinguished Representatives of the Legislative and Judicial branches, Distinguished Governors, Distinguished Representatives of the three sectors: peasant, worker, and employer...."

The influence of businessmen in the ruling party began to mount openly during the term of Miguel de la Madrid, so much so that by his last year in office they had already gained spots on PRI's Commission for Financing and Patrimonial Consolidation, which was in charge of paying for part of Salinas de Gortari's campaign.

The commission was chaired by Angel Borja Navarrete, an owner of and shareholder in companies in the iron and cement (Tolteca) industries and in exchange houses. Other members were Pablo Alvarez Trevino, the former president of the National Chamber of the Construction Industry (who went around painting and remodeling schools during the campaign); Antonio Ariza Canadilla, the general manager of the Pedro Domecq company; Pablo Brener, one of the recent buyers of Mexicana Airlines; Jose Carral Escalante, a partner of Manuel Espinoza Iglesias; Roberto Gonzalez Barrera, a business partner of Carlos Hank Rhon; Eduardo Legorreta, the former colleague of the current president of PRI when the latter was the principal official (Legorreta was found guilty of fraud on the Mexican Securities Exchange and fell into disgrace); Isaac Saba Rafoul, and Carlos Slim, who are owners of Sanborn's, paper mills, insurance firms, etc.

The involvement of the businessmen was made possible by the liaison work of Claudio X. Gonzalez, a former leader of the Business Coordinating Council (CCE) and chairman of the Board of Directors of Kimberly Clark. During the campaign he chaired the Foreign Investment Commission and is currently an adviser to the president in this area.

In 1986, during his term as a business leader, Claudio X. Gonzalez drafted a document in which he proposed a 10-point policy that the government is now pursuing. To mention a few of them:

An effective policy to control inflation by cutting both government spending and the budget deficit; administrative simplification; a revision of labor legislation in areas "that could mean a loss of business competitiveness and efficiency"; "a comprehensive policy of support for reconversion and modernization of the entire society and for exports," and the adoption of a realistic exchange rate.

No one denies the influence, presence, and power of PRI businessmen. Even the leader of the CNOP, Silvia Hernandez, speaks openly of the issue. During one of her first press conferences, last February, she said in response to a direct question:

Industrialists and businessmen are "another part of the middle class, which is also part of the broad spectrum of the CNOP's political work. It is nothing new for them to take part. Indeed, businessmen are a natural outgrowth of a middle class that has been boosting its potential for capital, investment, and productive work. It would be nothing new. They have always taken part and are the best example of what national economic development means. Now then, the novelty could simply be perhaps that they are starting to organize themselves, outside their chambers, as middle class organizations that are making political and economic demands."

To dispel any doubts she clarified: "I don't think it's necessary (to form another sector—businessmen). I think that they have been forming (we've just seen it in Baja California) a series of groups of what could be called the affluent middle class, which have begun to make political and economic proposals and have also gotten involved in the party's social work in a natural way. They are organizing the way professionals have before, as a natural expression of a desire to take part."

A group of seven investigators from different universities and institutes of higher learning drafted a research report that was published late last year, along with other works, in the book "Empresarios y Estado en America Latina" [Businessmen and State in Latin America]. Their coordinators were Maria Amparo Casar and Matilde Luna, from the Institute of Transnational Studies and the Institute of Social Research of UNAM [National Autonomous University of Mexico]. In the chapter "Political Party Involvement" they indicate:

"The political party involvement of businessmen has been problematic insofar as the possibility of class unification is concerned. The proposals by factions, groups, and individuals have ranged from the formmation of a political party to becoming another sector of PRI."

Analyzing Miguel de la Madrid's term, the researchers came to the conclusion that businessmen are behaving in a more systematic manner. "This is revealed in the striking presence of leaders and of businessmen in general in elections for deputies, mayors, and some state governors, as well as in the utilization of business organizations as forums for promoting more direct involvement of businessmen in politics."

"A striking electoral presence has been observed" in both PRI and PAN [National Action Party]. "Attempts have also been made to praise businessmen and to secure their support for PRI candidates, by offering them further sinecures...or, PRI has nominated candidates whose ideological bent and social extraction are very similar to those of PAN candidates."

They conclude with what they call "one of the most critical aspects of this transition period": the recognition of the private sector's right to participate in politics, even though, they caution, this endangers the political stability based on the corporativism of the main mass organizations.

Ricardo Tirado, one of the coauthors, who has continued the investigation by examining what has happened so far this 6-year term, says for himself that the strengthening of the business sector has necessarily entailed the weakening of PRI's sectors. Should another sector be created? The businessmen's sector? he wonders.

"Certain businessmen would like that. Perhaps the small and medium-sized ones, but this would bring other problems, especially with the other sectors. The formation of this sector is veiled. The businessmen have been gaining ground and growing stronger the way they have been proceeding. Associations of industrialists are being created within the CNOP. Although they have always had ties to the ruling party, they used to be more discreet. Now they are more explicit."

Tirado says with assurance: "We can see that businessmen are increasingly close to PRI. For a long time now this party has drifted away from its basic principles, its basic documents, and this has been more noticeable in recent months. There is another interesting fact: the involvement of businessmen in PAN, their belligerence, has tapered off. This has happened because they have found an outlet for their desire to take part in politics by drawing closer to PRI. It is also due to the Cardenas phenomenon. Businessmen felt that Salinas' opponent was going to be Clouthier (from PAN). They realized later that his rival was from the other side, the left. This meant a shift in alliances and a modification of business policy. Businessmen see Cardenism as a threat. They sense that this is not the time for opposition vagaries, especially because Salinas is pursuing policies that square with their proposals. This is why businessmen are withdrawing from PAN. Businessmen, then, are taking PRI's side."

"Thus, the basic items on the government's agenda are those of the PRI businessmen, who agree with PAN businessmen. It is strikingly obvious that the traditional sectors of PRI have weakened. They have lost ground, especially the worker sector."

The political scientist's assertion is readily borne out by the facts. The sectors no longer guarantee votes. But PRI does not know what to do either. Hence it still pays lip service to respecting, restoring, and revitalizing them.

The CNC was weaker than ever when it held its 17th Regular Congress in August. And in spite of the demands for democracy in the selection of its leaders, once again the "dedazo" [the practice of appointment from above] won out, as Maximiliano Silerio Esparza was named secretary general.

And as a sign that there are those who are resisting change, the new leader said yes to the nomination of Mario Hernandez Posadas, "El Tigre" (a former national CNC leader who is famous for having thrown a dinner for the owners of Televisa), as the head of the agronomists who are affiliated with the confederation.

According to a study by Hugo Andres Araujo, the current organizational secretary of the CNC, the PRI confederation has lost its social consensus and capacity for political leadership because it has lost touch with the peasants' needs and has imposed restrictions on democratic participation.

Moreover, he contends, the peasants need a new sort of alliance with the State, "free of the tutelage, paternalism, and corporativism that characterized the alliance that emerged from the Cardenist pact and that is now inhibiting the sector's new potential."

He goes on to say: "As it drifted away from meeting social demands and restricted democratic participation to relations with PRI as the ruling and almost sole party, it has lost its social consensus and capacity for political leadership."

Interviewed by PROCESO, Hugo Andres Araujo makes it clear that this is a crucial moment for the CNC:

"In this environment there is a political need for all leaders to be connected with the rank and file. We cannot settle for leaders who just go around trying to make names for themselves. Their fundamental task is to attend to the problems of the people they represent. There must be a clear-cut consensus. Involvement in selecting (officials) must be bolstered. We have to see to it that our executive personnel are full time, that they are dedicated, and that there is greater consistency between what we say and what we do."

And he concludes: "Our people want action, results, commitments, and unless the CNC changes, it will inevitably collapse."

Aware of his confederation's weakness, Silerio Esparza has devoted himself as secretary general to spurring the Permanent Agrarian Congress (CAP), which includes federations that are affiliated with other parties or that are independent, such as the CIOAC [Independent Federation of Agricultural Workers and Peasants] and the National Coordinating Board for the Ayala Plan (CNPA), in an effort to meet peasant demands.

As for the worker sector, which has traditionally been regarded as the most important and most organized and whose top leader, Fidel Velazquez, is one of the founders of the Mexican political system, it has been one of the hardest hit by the policies of its party and of the government.

At the 6 July 1988 elections the worker sector lost at least 16 spots, including 1 senator, Joaquin Gamboa Pascoe, who was running in the Federal District [DF]. Since then there have been more than a few feuds between the CTM people and the PRI leadership.

On 2 September 1988 the CTM leader delivered a violent speech that almost represented a break with his party, inasmuch as he criticized the "pseudo-ideologues" and threatened to make the confederation independent.

Later, in February of this year, Fidel lashed out at the government's labor policy and conveyed the fear that the sectors might disappear: "They are seeking to destroy the CTM, which they regard as being in its death throes, when it is just now that it is rising up stronger and steadier than ever before."

Last August at the CTM assembly the problem was brought up again in more or less the same terms.

The CTM's political document, drafted by Juan S. Millan, Diego Navarro Rodriguez, and Enrique Ramos, among others, reiterated: "PRI is fundamentally an organization of workers and peasants and the revolutionary middle class. These are the sectors on which the party has based the ideological struggle and the legitimacy of our political system."

And it cautioned: "Other voices have indicated that one of the sectors ought to be excluded. To sap the strength of the popular sector or the peasant sector would gravely weaken the system and the party, but to sap the strength of the CTM would liquidate it. So, our party needs to remain a party of sectors."

He concluded: "Therefore, the PRI that we workers want must reaffirm its nature as a party of the masses and of sectors and make one and all main actors in national events, not mere spectators devoid of emotion and revolutionary feelings."

But the worker sector has not just been locked out of its own party. At the national level, in the development of the policies that the government is pursuing and in the solidarity pacts, the worker sector has been more of a victim than a spectator. So much so that the CTM itself has demanded a change in economic policy.

Perhaps the worst for the worker sector is yet to come: it is not really involved in discussing and drafting the new Federal Labor Law. It has been unable to halt the offensive against the Collective Bargaining Contracts. Nor does it have influence to pressure the pact monitoring committee into preventing price agreement violations. According to official data, half of the economically active population, which is estimated at 30 million, is underemployed and earns less than the minimum wage.

The case of the Cananea Mining Company also speaks eloquently of the worker sector's weakness. When section 65 went out on strike over a contract renegotiation, the company declared bankruptcy and held its workers responsible. The government was later obliged to jail former manager Emilio Ocampo for mismanagement. PRI approached the miners but was rejected. Then, the president of the Republic announced that the company would not be sold to foreigners and that the workers would become joint owners. In what seemed to be a concerted agreement, the CTM offered to buy it. The miners were not taken into account, however, much less their national leader, Napoleon Gomez Sada. They want to be paid, as per the collective bargaining agreement, and to negotiate from that point on.

PRI, its leader said, is prepared to defend the workers. It has proposed nothing, however. And far from strengthening them, the proposal to hand over the company to the workers has them divided.

The businessmen are the ones who keep on winning.

* Divisions in National Action Party Viewed

90EM0003 Mexico City LA JORNADA in Spanish 11-15 Sep 89

[Five-part article by Ricardo Aleman Aleman]

[11 Sep pp 1, 10]

[Text] Stronger at the polls than it has ever been in its 50-year existence, the National Action Party (PAN) is facing what could become the third "great crisis" in its history, owing to the battle for the national leadership (which has already begun), indiscipline, deviations, and opposing plans for the future of Mexico's number two political party.

Three events in recent weeks have brought to the fore the disagreements between the many groups that coexist inside PAN: political and electoral reform, which is enabling the party to engage in forms of politics that are "novel" for it; the upcoming change (February 1990) in the chairman of the National Executive Committee [CEN], and the possible modification or adaptation of strategies and philosophical principles to cope with the new political situation in Mexico.

In the first case, the electoral reform has been headed by an alliance consisting of Nist/nists and the so-called "political intellectuals" of the white and blue party, in an effort to consolidate the work done by Luis Hector Alvarez during his term of office, which is now ending.

On 21 February 1987 Luis H. Alvarez became PAN's 14th president, after the outgoing president, Pablo Emilio Madero, abandoned the fight when he was more than 10 votes behind. The margin that Alvarez ultimately won by developed after he delivered a speech in which he proposed the "radicalization of National Action" and pledged to make a "renewed and redoubled effort to turn the party into the most efficient factor for change."

The radicalization that Alvarez proposed "is the one that has to do with the roots of National Action, in other words, with the party's identification, with its very being in the sense that it is known to and embraced by PAN members....It is on the basis of our self-knowledge that we can open ourselves up to any dialogue, to any alliance, to any option."

The current PAN leadership is fulfilling their president's promises to the letter: "We need to turn to the intellectual sphere with resolve, without fear, and without complexes. We need intellectual personnel, a public relations policy, our own vigor. This is no longer the time for circumstantial agreements but rather for convergences with reasons." The feuding has thus grown more bitter, and "traditionalist" PAN members are more afraid of being replaced once and for all by the Neopanist-political-intellectual alliance.

The second issue, the election of the chairman of the CEN, is directly related to the first. The dispute that has emerged today is merely the upshot of the rapid removal of the mostly "old-time" PAN members who, when the February 1987 reelection of Pablo Emilio Madero became impossible, saw the Nist/nists move in, those "barbarians from the north," the ones who supported the presidential candidacy of Manuel de Jesus Clouthier and who now occupy the leadership posts.

The third issue, possible political reform, the new face that has been proposed for PAN through dialogue and alliance, and the abandonment of traditional arrangements make it necessary to alter tactics and strategies and perhaps to adjust philosophical principles. The methods that have been adopted and those that are on the way have radicalized both old and new PAN members, who have begun to take up positions, the former just to survive or defend tradition and the latter to keep a new agenda alive.

A complex tangle of factions is involved in the battle for the national presidency of PAN, which could bring on a third "great crisis." The first was in 1969-1970 in the wake of the electoral fraud and after many PAN members who said they were disappointed left. The second, which was the biggest in PAN's history, took place in 1976-1978, when the party suffered its most severe setback because of internal squabbling. The following are some of the factions involved:

The Nist/nists, who are unofficially without a leader but who are actually headed by Manuel de Jesus Clouthier; the self-styled political politicians or intellectuals, who include Abel Vicencio Tovar, Carlos Castillo Peraza, and Diego Fernandez de Cevallos, among others; the well known Monterrey Group, which is led by Pablo Emilio Madero, the former PAN national president and former presidential candidate who is publicly linked to the powerful business groups in Monterrey.

Alongside Pablo Emilio Madero are Jesus Gonzalez Schmall, a former presidential candidate, former parliamentary coordinator, and former secretary of international relations; Bernardo Batiz; Jose Angel Conchello, a former PAN national president who, along with Madero, was involved in PAN's biggest crisis; Alfredo Oropeza from Guadalajara, and others, including most of the members of the ultraconservative National Civic Women's Association (Ancifem).

One of the Monterrey Group's advantages is that it has the support of an old and respected PAN member, Jose Gonzalez Torres, who has major influence in the party's traditionalist sectors but has publicly distanced himself from the Neopanists and political politicians, so much so that last Friday Madero asserted himself and backed the expulsion of a group of PAN congressmen in Nuevo

Leon who "in an act of indiscipline" had demanded the departure of their state leader.

The Puebla Group is also vying for the PAN leadership. It too is marked by serious disagreements, and the subgroup that calls itself "traditionalist" has declined to take part in the upcoming electoral contest in the state of Puebla and was forced to make way for the state's Neopanists. The former group, the traditionalists, is headed by Alejandro Canedo Benitez, a former federal deputy and tourism industry entrepreneur who during the selection of senatorial candidates for the 1988 federal elections was withdrawn a half hour before the convention "by his party's national leadership." It also has the support of federal deputies Rosalia Ramirez, Antonio Bravo y Cid de Leon, and Juan Jose Medrano.

But the real strength of the Puebla Group lies with the Neopanists, who are headed by Francisco Frayle, Ricardo Villa Escalera, and Alfredo Sandoval, a former national of Coparmex [Employers Confederation of the Mexican Republic]. Frayle and the Vera brothers, Hector and Oscar, who are medium-sized businessmen, retain control of the Autonomous Popular University of Puebla (UPAEP).

Hector Vera was the coordinator of Clouthier's presidential campaign and during his time in UPAEP was implicated in the beating death of a man; Alfredo Sandoval, a tourism industry businessman, runs the group called Comprehensive Human Development and Citizen Action (DHIAC).

The DHIAC activists, who band together in state committees, are operating practically all over the country and during Clouthier's presidential campaign offered major support as rallying, shock, and "law and order" forces.

In spite of the disagreements and feuds that career activists, new activists, and the so-called politicians are involved in inside PAN, one prominent group has infiltrated almost all of the factions: businessmen (small, medium, and big), who have gone about playing a direct role and have shunted aside the representatives of the business groups, as happened in the past to Pablo Emilio Madero, who was just an employee of the big financial power groups.

The Dispute

On 21 February 1987 neither the outgoing president of PAN, Pablo Emilio Madero, nor the incoming one, Luis H. Alvarez, knew how strong PAN was to become in the ensuing months. Nevertheless, aware of PAN's expansion just before this, Madero prepared to retain control of the party by controlling the purse strings ("He who pays gives the orders") and mobilized all of his strength to prevent the session of the council at which he was defeated from debating whether to accept or reject the financing to which the party was entitled under election regulations.

In the ensuing months Madero brought all of his still substantial influence to bear in opposing the government subsidy and thus gave rise to yet another conflict that soon reached its climax. On 25 April of the same year the National Executive Committee met again and discussed whether to accept the financing entitlement.

Luis H. Alvarez replied that "the decision to accept or reject the public funds has nothing to do with strict ethics....Making use of public funds cannot be equated with robbery or fraud, lying or killing. Nor is refraining from using them necessarily synonymous with virtue or morality."

Finally PAN voted to accept the entitlement, and in an interview with LA JORNADA Luis Hector Alvarez said: "This is a decision that shows our independence."

That is not where matters remained, as the party was to choose its presidential candidate late that year. The main contenders were Manuel J. Clouthier and Jesus Gonzalez Schmall. The tone of the campaign was the same. The Madero group, now represented by Gonzalez Schmall, defended the traditional PAN, but surprisingly the Sinaloa businessman crushed him in a landslide, even though Jorge Eugenio Ortiz Gallegos registered as a candidate at the last minute to stop Clouthier. Gallegos withdrew, also unexpectedly. The way was thus clear for Neopanism, which by that time had allied with PAN's group of political intellectuals.

On 20 November, a few days before the presidential campaign got under way, Luis H. Alvarez made a vigorous appeal for party unity.

Many groups did not respond, however, mainly the state committees from the Federal District, headed by Jose Angel Conchello, and the state of Mexico, besides organizations such as Ancifem, which saw Gonzalez Schmall as the ideal candidate. Gonzalez Schmall ran for senator in the Federal District, and his sizable funding contrasted with the presidential candidate's disorganized campaign.

Nevertheless, Clouthier gained supporters throughout the country, mainly among businessmen, because as president of Coparmex he expanded its influence and brought a good many businessmen into PAN.

The PAN traditionalists and those who used to represent the business groups have not given up and are already preparing a new onslaught.

[12 Sep p 7]

[Text] Internal plurality in PAN [National Action Party] "in no way hampers party life and decisionmaking," contends PAN legislator Carlos Castillo Peraza in an extensive analysis of the group's future.

Such plurality is often taken too far, however, and conflicts are visible only when squabbling and confrontation, as the state committees of Nuevo Leon and Puebla are experiencing today, come to public light.

Most PAN activists show a disciplined and cautious face to the outside world, and mid-level executives or leaders are unlikely to talk about internal problems. We turn, therefore, to an internal analysis, which reveals the seriousness of the problem that Mexico's number two political force is currently facing.

At a meeting of lawmakers last 24 August, when the first public signs of disagreements in PAN were just becoming obvious, Gerardo Medina, currently a federal deputy, submitted for the consideration of party leaders an exhaustive study that had of course not gone beyond the at times impregnable PAN walls.

Medina, an experienced legislator and journalist, summarized his party's development as "optimistic from the standpoint of numbers and spaces." He asked, however: "Have we also grown qualitatively? Can we say that we are better than those who plowed the first furrows and planted the first seeds?"

"I have heard some prominent members of PAN contend quite calmly that Gomez Morin is the party's prehistory, that he has been left behind. Therefore, it is not surprising that the idea is going around that in comparison to our founders we PAN members of today are more pragmatic and less doctrinaire, and the word is that we have become the real opposition, which is understood to mean the opposition that causes no problems, that comes to terms with the government, to distinguish us from the opposition that does represent a threat to the system, the PRD [Party of the Democratic Revolution], according to the PRD people, of course."

He then cites two elements that could be used "to judge ourselves as PAN members more or less objectively": loyalty to the PAN philosophy and how PAN members treat each other. "If we are talking about loyalty to philosophy, then loyalty to individuals, the party's first and most important principle, will serve to put ourselves to the test." He then cites basic documents of his party: "Owing to their dignity, men must not be reduced to the category of mere tools of individuals, groups, and private or public institutions, to the detriment of their own temporal or eternal destiny."

"Is it true," he continues, "that none of us, as leaders, representatives, or just activists, has sought to treat or regard others as mere tools? The eminent dignity of the human person has been one of our most persistent teachings, but towards the outside, since inside the party the tone is summary judgments and discrediting, especially in relations between new members and old activists. Are we better than the PAN members of yesterday?" he asked.

Later on he states: "And if it is wisely said that charity begins at home, there are elements to judge our qualitative gains on a balance whose trays would hold, one, the aforementioned principles and, the other, our behavior towards others. There are times when one hears it rightly said here that some of us treat our adversaries better than we do our own and that the adversaries reciprocate."

He summarized his remarks in this regard thus: "It is clear that we have had our differences, that not all of our public officials have maintained their composure in the exercise of power, but in general we can argue that we cannot be reproached, by and large, for deviations from our principles in the exercise of power."

On the same occasion Gerardo Medina also dealt with Neopanism, one of the key issues in PAN infighting. "The term Neopanist came from the outside and, without much consideration, became part of our language on the inside. Be that as it may, however, it is in keeping with a simple fact: everyone who starts off in something or becomes updated is neo."

"It has been the work of more than two generations that has enabled an increasing number of neos to flow towards the party. Along with other circumstantial elements that could even be described as providential, we can legitimately assert that each neo who remains disciplined and dynamic in the party is the fruit of our work. Individually and as a group they are concrete proof that we have overcome the obstacle of time to the party's survival. It may be an exaggeration, but they are like the children who prolong our lives, our dreams, our ideals.

"They are coming in and will keep on coming in, hopefully for the rest of their lives, with a sense of transcendence, because each one of us who arrived many years ago, and no one thought of calling us Neopanists, much less in a pejorative tone, did something so that they would come; we did not lock ourselves up to cultivate our own little gardens. The party does not grow old with the old, but it does not begin with the new either."

Nevertheless, Gerardo Medina voiced a warning to the Neopanists, especially the businessmen, at the conclusion of his analysis: "It is one thing for many of our techniques to have been developed as we went along, for some of them to be seen as rudimentary and, therefore, for us to need others that have been approved at the academy; and it is something quite different to claim that a far-reaching personal choice simply means bringing lieutenants, captains, or generals of industry or commerce, with their outlooks and ways of executives or managers, into a political party like PAN."

"No one has come here to PAN to see what he can get, but rather to see where he can do the most good, as people work for more than just a wage here. A political party has a character of its own, and it would be a mistake with extremely grave consequences in many respects to confuse it with a company or a business that seeks to make a profit.

"We should not be afraid if errors are made in this new situation, because they have been made before; if there are and will be confrontations, because there have been before; if there are those who will show their true colors, which they used to hide because they did not have the power that they now do, because the only new twist will be their number. But we must all bear in mind at all

times that the institution always emerges from all difficult and even bitter times, because intelligence and the awareness that the party must transcend all individuals have prevailed over all passions, which are at times excessive."

[13 Sep p 6]

[Text] At present PAN's [National Action Party] most bitter disputes have been in the state committees of Nuevo Leon and Puebla. In both cases the motive has been the opposition of the "traditionalists" to the gains of and new methods proposed by the "Neopanists," and all amid long-standing vices such as imposition, in a bid to keep the party's principles unchanged.

The immediate forerunner to the conflict in Nuevo Leon, which ended last Friday when eight legislators were expelled from PAN ranks, was a request in which the Neopanism of Nuevo Leon State said that Pablo Emilio Madero, a current leader, former national president, and former presidential candidate, had to be removed.

From the outset of his mandate in his home state, Pablo Emilio Madero sought to impose old-style methods of practicing politics by utilizing the financial support of the business groups whom he has served. Only, the Neopan businessmen, such as Fernando Canales Clariond, Jose Luis Coindreau, and Alberto Fernandez Ruilobo, turned the tables on him and, using the same principle of "he who pays gives the orders," pushed for Madero's removal.

This past 2 August Rafael Alonso y Prieto, a prominent Monterrey PAN member, called publicly on Pablo Emilio Madero to withdraw, even though he (Alonso y Prieto) had proposed him some months before as a candidate and practically brought him into the state leadership.

The accounts of what is going on in Nuevo Leon are, of course, at odds. While Madero's followers have stated that what is actually happening is that the group of Neopan businessmen wants power for their own personal interests, the dissident deputies charge that Madero is "incapable of bringing together and responding to the various forces that exist inside the party."

Alfredo Corella, currently a local congressman and widely known for the scandal that he caused by visiting U.S. Senator Jesse Helms, has become one of Pablo Emilio Madero's main detractors, even though during Madero's mandate PAN's links with U.S. political parties and figures were promoted broadly.

Supported by Nuevo Leon businessmen, who from the beginning wanted him to be party leader instead of Pablo Emilio, Alfredo Corella, who has belonged to PAN since 1946, now says that he is opposed to the "conservatism that dominates Pablo Emilio Madero's mandate" and he criticizes him "for being one of the guardians of the Holy Sepulcher without realizing that the deceased has already been resurrected. When they see there is a threat, they behead it."

Referring to what is happening in Nuevo Leon, he says that "they still want to scare us with this nonsense about the bylaws, indiscipline, the party's principles. What they are forgetting is that besides talking about hope, we have to move forward and not just stick with ideas and principles. In other words, God helps those who help themselves. We can't continue with the do-nothingism that Madero has imposed and that he practices through local congresswoman Consuelo Botello, whom he appointed pursuant to his powers but over the opposition of most of the legislators, 14 representatives of the people in all."

In his home state Madero has shown that he will go as far as is necessary to defend the party's principles.

Madero cautiously avoids talking about the conflict "because the party's internal affairs must not be ventilated in the press." He says, however, that in the case of the eight deputies who were expelled, "the only thing that was done was to enforce the bylaws."

What happened, he says, was that they disagreed with a decision that the president is empowered to make: "To appoint the whip of the congressional group. The dissident congressmen decided to set up a parallel group. They were asked to reconsider, but they did not. In accordance with the statutes as well, they were heard; the evidence was submitted, and the action to be taken will be decided in an appearance before the State Committee."

Madero also denied that there can be talk of indiscipline or deviations in Nuevo Leon. "We have made every effort to prevent indiscipline and we have always adhered to our philosophical principles." Nonetheless, he acknowledges that "creating a parallel legislative group" is incompatible "with the discipline that the bylaws call for."

He went on to say that when a new member joins PAN, he must accept its philosophical principles, bylaws, and regulations. "When one accepts the bylaws, one agrees with the hierarchical structure, with all that it implies, and if there is a disagreement with the president, there are forums in which to air it. When a confrontation goes public, and the bylaws are not honored, action must be taken on the basis of these same bylaws."

Regarding philosophical principles, he contended that they have not changed "one iota, because they have a very solid foundation, but there can be differences about tactics; differences are legitimate here." He also stated, however, that PAN's doors "are half-open to enter but wide open to leave."

Neopanism was an unavoidable topic, and Pablo Emilio Madero felt that the arrival of the Neopanists "is positive. Nevertheless, people have wanted to give the term a pejorative connotation, to the effect that a Neopanist is

one who tries to come in and impose, and there is unquestionably mistrust of the newcomers. But even this is part of the maturing of a democratic party like ours, in which there must not be first- or second-class members."

"Now then, if those who are arriving embrace the party as it is and strengthen it, that is just fine. But if they want to change it, they can do so only in form, not in substance. Give and take in maintaining or changing forms is legitimate inside the organization. The danger is that the Neopanists may try to turn PAN away from what it has been, and this is a challenge to the training bodies. The party is often perceived wrongly, and the challenge of orienting and training newcomers must be ever present."

[14 Sep p 15]

[Text] Pablo Emilio Madero, PAN's [National Action Party] former national president and former presidential candidate, would be willing to accept the nomination to head the party leadership once again "because I want to serve the party."

Even though Madero, who is from Monterrey, and Jose Angel Conchello, from Mexico City, played the dominant roles in the sharpest internal conflict that today's number two political force has ever undergone ("I was acquitted of the charges and have nothing to be ashamed of"), Madero is still being considered for the PAN presidency, along with Luis Hector Alvarez, Jesus Gonzalez Schmall, Manuel J. Clouthier, Carlos Castillo Peraza, and Bernardo Batiz.

Nevertheless, 10 years after the 1976-1978 conflict, many PAN members still remember what Madero and Conchello did. What is worse, though, is that many Neopanists and even more followers of the party that Manuel Gomez Morin founded in September 1939 do not recall this page in PAN's history.

The National Action Party has suffered two major crises in its 50-year history. The first arose in 1969, early in the term of Manuel Gonzalez Hinojosa, who replaced Adolfo Christlieb Ibarrola. During the time that Christlieb Ibarrola was in power, "PAN managed to play down its religious and reactionary image and present itself as a modern conservative party that was not afraid of a few reforms. Nonetheless, and in spite of the new philosophical stand that it took, in practice it continued to represent the right," says Uriel Jarquin Galvez in "Un PAN que no se come" [a pun on the word "pan," which means "bread"; thus, "A loaf of bread that is not eaten"].

Gonzalez Hinojosa became president of National Action after the resignation of Christlieb Ibarrola, who died a few months later; he was elected at an assembly that also approved the document "Democratic Change of Structures," which summarized the culmination of the philosophical reform that Christlieb had begun.

It was up to Gonzalez Hinojosa to confront the crisis that the electoral fraud in Yucatan unleashed in the party in November 1969. Victor Manuel Correa Racho, the PAN candidate, Uriel Jarquin says, was the mayor of Merida. Running for PRI was another PAN member, Carlos Loret de Mola, who had belonged to National Action in his youth and whose only political merit was that he was a friend of President Gustavo Diaz Ordaz.

Loret de Mola won, even though PAN scored major gains and posted solid victories in the capital and other municipalities, for which reason the national leadership demanded that the elections be annulled. The fraud scandal reached such dimensions that PAN's most conservative wing accused the leadership of weakness in defending the triumph. The situation was compounded by further claims of fraud in Sonora and Baja California, to the point that at the convention in November of that year the state committees of Sonora, Baja California, Sinaloa, Chihuahua, Durango, Jalisco, Nuevo Leon, Michoacan, and Colima demanded that the party reconsider its decision to run in the 1970 elections.

After a Special Convention was held, the party decided by a six-vote margin to take part in the 1970 presidential election, with Efrain Gonzalez Morfin as its candidate. The decision prompted an exodus from PAN ranks, and in many states the PAN candidate for president was not offered support.

The Big Crisis

In 1972 a young attorney, Jose Angel Conchello Davila, became president of PAN. "He ran the party like an advertising man, with a tendency to the anecdotal; he seemed to be on the lookout for governmental mistakes so that at the opportune moment he could trigger an 'affair' that would impact the political marketplace," says his fellow party member Gildardo Gomez Veronica in "Teoria de los Partidos Politicos y El Partido Accion Nacional" [Theory of Political Parties and the National Action Party].

He also adds, however: "He did not reveal himself to be a party ideologue or a profound critic of the system; in contrast, his presidency was characterized by good humor. If instead of a political party PAN had been a business enterprise, then one could say that Conchello was a quick-acting and imaginative president who brought modern, showy tactics into the institution or who did political marketing of a sort." Professionally, Conchello was and still is an advertising man and for many years was an employee of Concamin [Confederation of Industrial Chambers], maintaining overt ties with the top echelon of businessmen in Monterrey.

Uriel Jarquin, a university researcher, has also studied Conchello: "Conchello soon became the champion of PAN demagoguery and caused dissatisfaction among all PAN factions."

PAN's Gildardo Gomez Veronica, now a federal deputy, says this about the following period: Conchello tried to get reelected but was defeated by Efrain Gonzalez Morfin, who was regarded at the time as one of the party's

most important ideologues. "Practically from the start of his term Gonzalez Morfin had to deal with internal disciplinary problems caused by the dynamism of the Conchello people, who, spurred by an impatient eagerness for immediate political activity, often did not even notice that their actions were inconsistent."

Under those circumstances the PAN National Executive Committee was, for example, forced to annul the candidacy of Alfredo Oropeza for governor of Hidalgo. In April 1975, then Deputy Juan Jose Hinojosa put forward Salvador Rosas Magallon as a candidate for the nomination, and almost simultaneously Conchello did likewise with Pablo Emilio Madero, besides requesting through seven regional committees that the date of the national convention be moved forward so that PAN could decide as soon as possible whether it was going to run in the federal elections the following year.

In "La crisis del Partido Accion Nacional" [The Crisis of the National Action Party] Carlos Arriola says: "The first measures that the CEN [National Executive Committee] took against the Conchello group were to take recognition away from him as head of the PAN delegation and to replace him with Juan Jose Hinojosa. Later, it publicly disavowed the activities of the Conchello-Madero group." Meanwhile, in spite of the ban, Madero kept on campaigning.

In October 1975 the CEN held the 25th Regular National Convention, which was supposed to nominate the candidate for president of the Republic from among three hopefuls: Pablo Emilio Madero, Salvador Rosas Magallon, and David Alarcon Zaragoza. Neither of the three obtained the required 80 percent of the vote, and a special convention had to be called.

Amid a major internal division in the party, PAN President Efrain Gonzalez Morfin handed in his resignation on 10 December so as to promote "unity in the party." After the interim presidency of Raul Gonzalez Schmall, Manuel Gonzalez Hinojosa was elected president for the second time on 21 December.

The Special Convention was held on 25 January 1976 solely to choose the presidential candidate. By then there were only two candidates: Pablo Emilio Madero and Salvador Rosas Magallon. Amid verbal attacks, shouting, and insults seven ballots were taken during a 13-hour session, and Madero rose from 57.8 percent in the first to 72.9 in the last, while Rosas Magallon fell from 42.12 to 26.4 percent.

The president of the party himself "was brought down and insulted when he declared that PAN would not run a presidential candidate because none of the candidates for the nomination had gotten the required 80 percent."

Carlos Arriola recounts in "La crisis del Partido Accion Nacional": "Some days after the convention sanctions were applied against Conchello and his main followers. At a press conference Gonzalez Hinojosa described Conchello as thinking like the far right and of following a fascist ideology and approach, adding: Time and again there is common ground between Conchello and some business groups from Monterrey and elsewhere in the Republic.

"In addition, he read a document inviting Conchello, Pablo Emilio Madero, Bernardo Batiz, and Alejandro Canedo (Canedo is the current head of the Puebla Group) to abandon all political activity in PAN voluntarily for a period of not less than 2 years, which they did not do, as Madero was a candidate for mayor that same year. Otherwise, they would have their rights suspended, and if the CEN deemed it necessary, expulsion proceedings would begin."

Resignations inside PAN continued, while on 25 March various groups of party leaders and activists decided to nominate Pablo Emilio Madero as an independent candidate for president of the Republic, and he stated that he would not be opposed to citizens voting for him.

Last Friday the eighth, Pablo Emilio Madero, the chairman of the PAN State Committee in Nuevo Leon, voted for the expulsion of eight local congressmen who were opposed to his chairmanship in his home state and during the preceding days encouraged others to vote the same way. The reason for their expulsion: "Disobedience, indiscipline, and lack of institutionality."

Exactly 13 years ago today Pablo Emilio Madero was acquitted of the charges that an advisory commission had filed against him: "Disobedience, indiscipline, and lack of institutionality." The commission was described as biased, inasmuch as in the cases of Conchello and Batiz it did not rule "owing to lack of time."

[15 Sep p 6]

[Text] Luis Hector Alvarez, the chairman of the National Executive Committee [CEN] of PAN [National Action Party], acknowledges that financial circles have tried to run the party. "But there is no doubt about it; there is a widespread opinion that now and in the future we are saying and will say no to the pressure groups that seek to control National Action's behavior."

As for what is happening right now in PAN (the battles for leadership and over the future direction of "Mexico's number two political force"), he cautions: "At no time have we tried to ignore the fact that differing opinions are being expressed inside PAN. Trying to ignore that would be tantamount to forgetting a fact. This is a situation that is inherent in all democratic organizations like ours."

"In spite of these developments," he continues, "we are 50 years old. I would say, rather, that if such internal differences ceased to exist, PAN would lose something of its essence, something of its raison d'etre. If we're talking about democracy and pluralism, it stands to reason that these ideas should exist inside the party."

He feels that substantive changes in PAN philosophy and principles are not necessary at present, "but it is obvious that the application of the principles had to be tailored to a changing world."

As for Neopanism, one of the main and most dynamic factions in the party and one that has made a considerable contribution to the current gains and would seem to represent PAN's future, Luis Hector Alvarez cautions: "It is not a new phenomenon. I was clearly a Neopanist, but my personal opinion is that I am very pleased that so many people are willing to knock on PAN's door. I'm not one of those who harbor the conviction that all newcomers must be viewed with mistrust. Because to tell the truth, knocking on our party's door means trying to enter an organization that has proven not to be a viable vehicle for satisfying personal appetites."

"Those who oppose the arrival of new PAN members are taking a provincial attitude; they often feel insecure and think that competition, which could be very healthy and desirable in the party, places them in an uncomfortable situation. Yet there are times when the doubts of those knocking on the door are unfounded."

An activist in PAN since 1955, Luis Hector Alvarez, who ran for governor of the state of Chihuahua a few months later, insists that it is untrue that his party was born as an organization devoted to defending the interests of businessmen, even though businessmen have been and still are prominent among its members.

In this respect, he feels that it is undeniable that there have been attempts "and that there will continue to be in the future, by pressure groups to control the party's behavior."

He contends, however, that if any party has been wounded by business pressure, "it has been PRI. Pressure groups have always tried to infiltrate organizations that from their viewpoint could be used as screens, shields, or retaining walls. But in the Institutional Revolutionary Party there has been an obvious marriage of political power and economic power."

The PAN president is cautious in discussing his party's future. He asks not to talk about the results of his term of office, which will end in 5 months. He feels, however, that the principles that gave rise to what is today the country's number two political and electoral force have been upheld.

"Speaking in general terms, there will be acts of indiscipline in the future, as there have been in the past and are at present. There will be those who will seek not to adhere to principles, but those who do so are gone very soon. As for the bylaws and regulations, they will change when at a given moment it is deemed opportune, whether because of changing circumstances such as party growth or the country's political situation.

"As for the principles, to tell the truth, I don't think that substantive changes are necessary. Obviously, the application of philosophical principles has to be tailored to the changing circumstances of a world in constant change."

PAN's Future

Carlos Castillo Peraza, the Yucatan deputy and one of the white-and-blue party's main ideologues, is a man who does talk about its future. In two interesting analyses, "La Primera Oficialidad" [The First Officials] and "El Futuro de Accion Nacional" [The Future of National Action], he gives a detailed account of his party's birth and future. Various PAN groups already regard him as an aspirant for the PAN presidency.

In the future, according to Castillo Peraza, PAN "will have to meet the following challenges":

The first is the deepening of its own philosophy. This is a crucial element in specifying with increasing precision its essential philosophical identity, which from the beginning has been described as equidistant from individualist liberalism and from nationalist, Latin Americanist collectivism.

The second is increasing internal openness to debate on the specific application of these principles, on the basis of differing interpretations of the realities within which and to transform which the party will act. This will require the abandonment of intransigent, ayatollah-like, positions that duplicate within PAN the absolutist aim of the ruling party that has been fought for 5 decades from the outside.

It will also entail a large dose of moderation and the capacity to convince through objective data, not just an endless repetition of the prescriptions set forth in philosophical principles. It will also require a widespread acceptance of democratic procedures for decisionmaking.

The third requirement for PAN is ever greater adherence to internal rules, owing to the party's numerical growth and greater pluralism. The obligation to obey the bylaws will become a compulsory reference point for settling internal problems; at the same time this entails honing internal procedures for membership and the drafting of a list of members.

In Castillo Peraza's analysis, the above considerations mean that PAN, as point number four, will need to make an ongoing effort to educate executive personnel and leaders about its philosophy (what is history, what is ideology, and what is platform) so that internal discussions can be increasingly serious and can prevent confusion of these levels, because such a mistake gives rise to a religious- or civil-war mentality. The remaining six points have to do with the party's ability to enhance its credibility in the eyes of an electorate that, on the one

hand, tends to be more critical and able to draw distinctions and, on the other, is more socially and economically disadvantaged. Given the critical circumstances in which the country finds itself, PAN will have to accept the political cost of opting for peaceful change, identify itself clearly as one of the elements of such change, and along with the other elements build the new judicial framework of the Republic, free of factious criteria and attitudes or absolutist pretensions.

Moreover, it must professionalize its executive personnel, step up its proselytizing, increase its capacity to mobilize, and intensify its intellectual efforts and exchanges.

El Salvador

Explosions Reported Near Armed Forces Command

PA3010163689 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSKL in Spanish 1556 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] At 0920 today powerful explosions were felt in the southwestern part of San Salvador.

We were covering a ceremony at the President Hotel when we heard these powerful explosions from various locations near the facilities of the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff on La Reforma Street.

We repeat: Approximately 30 minutes ago, presumed urban commandoes stormed areas near the facilities of the Armed Forces Joint Chiefs of Staff and started hurling explosive devices that fell on a gas station—specifically the San Benito Gas Station—located on La Reforma Street, 200 meters north of the facilities of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

According to preliminary reports from the scene, Jose Ernesto Vasquez, 72, who was working at the San Benito Gas Station on La Reforma Street at the time of the explosion, was killed. Two other employees of the same gas station were seriously injured.

Coprefa Director on Attack

PA3010175089 San Salvador Radio Cadena Sonora in Spanish 1610 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Major Mauricio Chavez Caceres, director of the Armed Forces Press Committee [Coprefa], will give us details on an attack which occurred today at approximately 1030 when two car bombs, rather explosive devices, were thrown from two cars and landed on a gas station.

[Begin recording] [Chavez] Bombs were found inside the blue car [words indistinct], which is still at the scene. However, the bombs landed (?here).

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]
[Chavez] Not at the General Staff. A grenade landed on the fence at the Military Circle. There was no damage to the General Staff facilities.

[Reporter] Was anyone injured?
[Chavez] From what I have heard, four or five people were injured and were taken away. They are civilians who worked at the gas station. The man you see here was killed.

[Reporter] Was there any damage to the facilities of the Armed Forces General Staff?
[Chavez] No damage so far.

[Reporter] We understand that an explosive device fell on the Military Circle.
[Chavez] As I said before, it did not land on the Military Circle, but on the fence. You can go see for yourself; it fell on the outside, on the fence.

[Reporter] How many explosions were there?
[Chavez] I believe there were approximately six or seven detonations.

[Reporter] Do you think the attack was aimed at the General Staff facilities?
[Chavez] It must have been against a military (?target). Although there are civilian houses in the area, one can presume... [changes thought] we recall that as a result of a previous attack on 23 December, 36 people were killed or wounded. In a similar attack, people who were at the health center and at the huts in front of Pollo Campero were injured.

[Reporter] What are your comments on this action?
[Chavez] We must continue pressuring as much as possible—as we are doing now—for peace.

[Reporter] What measures will be adopted in view of the fact that this was the second attack in less than 1 year?
[Chavez] I do not know what measures the General Staff will take, but some measures will definitely be taken. [end recording]

Ponce Comments on Explosion

PA3010214789 San Salvador Radio Cadena YSU in Spanish 1800 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Col Rene Emilio Ponce, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, said today at a news conference that 1 civilian was killed and 15 wounded as the result of a mortar attack carried out this morning by urban guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front [FMLN] against the facilities of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Col Ponce said that the guerrillas hurled eight devices at the military facilities. Two exploded in a playground; three others exploded in the street where the ISTA [Salvadoran Institute of Agrarian Transformation] is located, injuring a pregnant woman and another civilian; two other bombs exploded near the San Benito gas station, killing Jorge Ernesto Vasquez, who worked for the gas station,and injured an unidentified minor, who was another employee. Col Ponce added that another bomb exploded near a business establishment in the area, causing property damage of over 50,000 colones.

Col Ponce said that the Armed Forces will act firmly against these rebel attacks, but within the legal mechanisms.

[Begin Ponce recording] The Armed Forces demand from governments in the world and human rights organizations condemnation of these terrorist actions that only bring mourning, sorrow, and death to our people. As I said, 1 civilian was killed and 15 injured as a result of this action.

Therefore, we can say that the FMLN continues with its terrorist plans, as we warned during the last news conference. This also confirms once again that the FMLN is lying to the international community and the international public by talking about peace and pretending to be

defenders of democracy in our country. Its actions show a different picture here in El Salvador.

The Armed Forces reiterate once again to our people that we will react, using all the legal mechanisms and means to face the FMLN'S indiscriminate terrorism.

I also want to take advantage of this opportunity to inform you that this type of homemade weapon, as they call them, are not made here in El Salvador, but in Nicaragua. I have a photograph showing what you were able to see this morning at the [words indistinct]. It consists of several pipes, which are homemade mortars, placed inside wooden boxes. In this one, they are being tested in Nicaragua, and this one shows they are being tested on the ground. This other photograph shows the person we believe is the expert. According to his features, this person is of Asian origin—maybe Vietnamese or Chinese. The terrorist, who has been lately posing as diplomat, was present when this test was made in Nicaragua. Roberto Roca and Mr Samayoa were also present. [end recording]

The senior military officer said the possibility of declaring a state of siege has not been ruled out; in any event, this decision will be adopted by the central government because the state of siege is a political measure. He noted that the Army will support it.

FMLN Communique Takes Credit

PA3110014189 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0020 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Communique issued by the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN)—date and place not given]

[Text] The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front reports that at 0920 on 30 October, urban fighters of the Modesto Ramirez Central Front began an attack with the people's artillery on the Armed Forces General Staff installations, the strategic brain center for operations by the death squads and the dirty war against the people's movement.

The artillery hit the General Staff installations and the Defense Ministry, causing serious damage and many casualties including officers and troops.

We praise the boldness of our urban fighters, who entered the installations and evaded the tight security around the General Staff building, in the heart of its strategic rear guard and in broad daylight. Two stray bullets accidentally killed a civilian.

With this operation against the General Staff and the attacks on military positions in the outskirts of Chalatenango and in other places in the country, the FMLN begins the political-military campaign called—All against ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] and La Tandona [Name given to 1966 graduates of Captain General Gerardo Barrios Military School, most of whom hold top positions in Salvadoran Armed Forces] to the end.

We began this campaign with a blow to La Tandona's operations center, axis of the oppressive power and intransigent obstacle for the solution to the conflict which, together with ARENA, are promoting a repressive policy and have charged against opposition parties, refugees, the university, public employees, the homeless, and other sectors of our country over the past few days.

Those who are opposed to putting an end to the business of war must be pushed aside through combat by an entire nation.

Cristiani Criticizes Attack

PA3110031789 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0138 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] San Salvador, 30 Oct (ACAN - EFE)—Salvadoran President Alfredo Cristiani today condemned a rebel attack, which resulted in 1 dead and 15 wounded, on the Defense Ministry and accused the guerrilla groups of "provoking" the government with weapons "sent from Nicaragua" so that it will "abandon the dialogue."

Cristiani said that the guerrilla groups maintain a "stubborn" attitude in the negotiations "by not wanting to reach an agreement with the official commission," and by launching attacks that "might provoke" a reaction from the Armed Forces, which reject a continuation of the dialogue process.

Several mortars, set up on a vehicle parked 200 meters from the Armed Forces General Staff headquarters, caused, besides the casualties, the destruction of eight vehicles, roofs, and windows in several military buildings and stores.

The attack, attributed to the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN), was aimed at the military complex which houses the Defense Ministry and the Armed Forces joint chiefs of staff, located in a military zone west of San Salvador.

Cristiani asserted that the explosives used in today's attack on the military complex "came from Nicaragua."

He referred to the photographs shown by military commanders in which high-ranking guerrilla commanders "are carrying out some tests in a Nicaraguan field."

"It is clear that Nicaragua is not complying" with the pledges assumed in the Central American peace process, the right-wing leader added.

Nevertheless, he asserted that the government's commission will attend the dialogue with the guerrilla representatives, scheduled for 20 and 21 November in Caracas (Venezuela), with the intention of reaching an agreement on a cease-fire.

"The FMLN is trying to show strength on the one hand, but on the other it is trying to generate a reaction from the Armed Forces so that the latter may exert pressure—at a given moment—to suspend the dialogue," Cristiani warned.

Colonel Rene Ponce, chief of the Armed Forces staff, said that the guerrilla attack "seeks to provoke us, but the Army is professional, serious, and it will support the government's decision to achieve peace through civilized means."

The FMLN has yet to claim responsibility for the attack, which caused alarm in the area around the military complex.

A government and rebel commission are trying to stop the internal war, which has caused more than 70,000 deaths in 9 years, through a dialogue process which began in Mexico City in September.

During the second round of talks, held in Costa Rica 2 weeks ago, the FMLN and the government agreed to continue the talks until a cease-fire is achieved.

1,300 Salvadoran Refugees Return From Honduras

PA3010190089 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 27 Oct 89 p 3

[Text] Yesterday, 1,300 Salvadoran refugees returned from Honduras and were met at the El Poy border post in Chalatenango Department by relatives, UNHCR [UN High Commissioner for Refugees] and CICR [International Red Cross Committee] officials, and government representatives.

The refugees returned aboard 40 buses, followed by 150 trucks carrying their belongings. Deputy Interior Minister Colonel Carlos Humberto Figueroa and Immigration Director Col Maximiliano Leiva were among the government officials on hand to meet the refugees.

It was reported that one of the 40 buses transporting the refugees carried several internationalists, who refused to get off the bus and identify themselves at the border and thus hampered the refugees' entry into the country during most of the morning. For that reason, only 15 buses had passed through the border by 1400.

Afterwards, the problem was solved and the entry process went smoothly.

It was reported that 600 of the 1,300 refugees will be taken to La Laguneta, 100 to Teosinte in Chalatenango Department, and the rest to Valle Nuevo, Cabanas Department. Immigration Chief Col Leiva told the refugees that the government will give them its full support once they have settled in the designated places.

A census and identification process will continue with all refugees in Mesa Grande and San Antonio, Honduras, who will also be arriving in the country soon.

UNTS Releases Statement on Government Proposal

PA3110025589 San Salvador LA PRENSA GRAFICA in Spanish 21 Oct 89 p 6

[Statement released by the National Union of Salvadoran Workers (UNTS): "The government's proposal is a declaration of war"—date of statement not given]

[Text] After carefully and thoroughly analyzing the government's proposal at the meeting with the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front], the UNTS has this to say:

The government's refusal to publish the proposal to be presented in San Jose had only one purpose—to not arrive at the negotiating table with a proposal that had been turned down by the great majority.

Everyone knows that profound social, economic, and juridical-political injustice is the cause of the crisis and the armed conflict. The government, however, is taking to the San Jose meeting a proposal that takes for granted that we, the poor of this country, have to relinquish our right to life, a plot of land to till, a fair salary, a job, health, education, equality before the law, respect for human rights, and, finally, the right to reject the intent of the country's 20 wealthiest business sectors to live in abundance and squander resources while thousands upon thousands of workers; peasants; cooperative members; shantytown dwellers; business, state, and municipal employees; professionals; and small and mid-sized businessmen are struggling to merely survive.

This is ARENA's [Nationalist Republican Alliance] declaration of war:

1. On economic problems;

While a great majority of the people have been demanding that the economic reforms introduced as the result of the Armed Forces' 15 October pronouncement be respected; that cooperative members cease to be dislodged; that lands included in cooperatives cease to be parceled out; that debts related to the possession of land be eliminated and Phase II of the agrarian reform be implemented; that the living conditions of low income sectors be improved by raising salaries and anulling all the measures that increase the cost of living; and that specific programs of economic and fiscal support for small and mid-sized enterprises be approved, the declaration of war only promises, after peace has been achieved, "to create an interparty organization to foster economic and social development to overcome the country's crisis as soon as is practicable."

Meanwhile, however, reforms are being rendered ineffective by letting foreign exchange from the sale of coffee go into the hands of the business groups that process, export, and market this product—INCAFE [National Coffee Institute], INAZUCAR [National Sugar Institute], and COC [not further identified]; the Salvadoran Coffee Council has been created; the lands included in the agrarian reform are parceled out; both the Supreme Court of Justice with its

decisions and the Armed Forces Staff with its pressure are trying to dislodge peasants and cooperative members; salaries continue to be frozen; the currency is devalued, while bus fares, energy, water, telephone rates, and taxes on all staple products are raised.

2. In the social field;

While the great majority of the people demand that mass and selective dismissals in private enterprise, the state, and municipalities be suspended; that those who have been fired be reinstated in their jobs; that new jobs be created; that sufficient resources be allocated to attend to the needs of medical consultations, hospitalization, medicines, and preventive treatment; that enough resources be allocated for education in the fields of construction and repair of schoolhouses, educational infrastructure, staff, teaching materials, and the University of El Salvador; that a specific cost-price housing program be created for homeless families; that refugees be freely allowed to return to El Salvador and that all forms of hostility against resettlements cease, the declaration of war being nothing but a general economic proposal.

In the meantime:—Workers, both in private enterprise as well as state and municipal workers, continue to be fired. There is a refusal to reinstate the dismissed workers, while job sources are being closed. — Complaints about dwindling resources in the public health assistance centers have increased. As a result, the charges made to patients have increased and in many cases the persons cannot pay the costs.

—Thousands of teachers continue to be jobless. Schools are virtually devoid of material. Classrooms do not even have chalk, and the University of El Salvador has yet to receive the budgeted funds assigned to it.

—There is a big propaganda display announcing that housing will be provided to 1 out of every 100 persons without homes in an effort to meet the demands of 594,000 homeless families.

—There is a campaign to force the refugees to accept the dates and places that are convenient for the government's plans, accompanied by a military campaign against the fourth repatriation, which thus far has not been achieved in view of the government's intransigence. All of this is coupled with the dirty war strategy, because while the refugees are repressed so they do not come of their own free will, there is a propaganda campaign calling for "the national reencounter with a fraternal embrace."

3. The Political Aspect.

While the large majorities demand:

a. That the government cease all forms of repression and restriction of democratic liberties, the psychological war, persecution, arbitrary arrests, attacks on union and popular organizations or the homes of political opposition leaders, hostility, threats to newsmen or the media, torture, disappearances, and assassinations;

b. That the government adopt specific and immediate measures to dismantle the death squads which operate from the garrisons of the Armed Forces and the security corps, and punish and try those responsible for the asssassination of thousands of Salvadorans, particularly those who asssassinated Msgr Romero.

c. That the security corps be substituted for by a civil police corps, not connected with the Armed Forces, and with strictly police functions.

d. That the judicial system be purged by appointing honest, capable officials to guarantee impartiality in their rulings. That all laws and decrees that violate civil, economic, and political rights, both individual and at group level, be repealed. That the necessary laws be approved to ensure coexistence amid harmony and democracy.

e. That peace be established as soon as possible, on the basis of a firm and lasting social justice.

The war declaration only seeks to get rid of our demands when it makes a call (in a distorted manner) for all the organizations that do not support ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] to renounce our struggle to meet our needs, while the government only commits itself to the following:

"An end to offensive military operations; accords to ensure that legally established political, labor, and social organizations can carry out their respective activities in a legal and peaceful fashion; accords to help strengthen respect for democratic rights and freedoms." It asks the FMLN to give up its military and political struggle in exchange for: "An end to offensive military operations; creation of a special operational commission to ensure that civilians can carry out their activities normally and safely; provide food and medical assistance to the combatants and ensure that they are able to communicate with the government; invite the CIAV [International Support and Verification Commission] to verify and supervise the accords."

Once there are no more hostilities and demobilization is complete by 15 January 1990, the government also offers: "Measures to ensure that the FMLN becomes a political party; a proposal to carry out an interparty review of the electoral system, and legal measures to help improve the administration of justice."

And once peace is achieved, "the government will determine the number of Armed Forces troops in keeping with the political Constitution."

Conclusions: The proposal of the ARENA government wants the FMLN to surrender and that the poor people and all of us who reject the plans of the 20 richest business groups in the country to give up our struggle to improve living conditions, and in turn, to allow them to freely evict all peasants from their land, to destroy the reforms, to keep wages frozen, to fill up the pockets of the rich while the poor die of hunger, to continue operating death squads from Armed Forces barracks,

and to allow corrupt officials to continue administering justice in favor of the rich, although they are guilty, while condemning the poor, although they are innocent.

This is the reason for Mr Cristiani's anger and desperation during his most recent appearance on a national radio and television network ,when he did nothing more than defend his war proposal against the poor.

In view of this: We urge all segments of the population interested in seeking peace, a solution to the economic crisis that is burdening the poor, and respect for human, economic, social, and political rights of the Salvadoran people to intensify our struggle and show the ARENA government, once and for all, that it cannot continue to play with the hunger of our country's poor, and let it know that we absolutely repudiate its war proposal, because it will not lead to peace, democracy and social justice.
For the sake of peace, justice, and national sovereignty
Executive Committee, UNTS

* Cuban Daily on ARENA's First 3 Months

32480222 Havana TRABAJADORES in Spanish
5 Sep 89 p 10

[Article by Luisa Alejo]

[Text] After only 3 months in the Salvadoran Presidency, ARENA [Nationalist Republican Alliance] has not disappointed the expectations of numerous observers who predicted a worsening of the situation in that small Central American country.

Surrounded by a young and well trained team, President Cristiani has not yet come up with even an outline for the modernization and solutions he promised in order to pull the country out of the crisis.

The war, which for 9 years has claimed a distressing and astronomical number of lives, shows no immediate sign of ending in this country which receives around $4 million in military aid from the United States each day.

The strict discipline between income and expenditures, the battle against corruption and demagoguery, and the relegation to secondary importance of foreign dependence in financial and economic matters have never been topics of serious discussion.

El Salvador continues to be as dependent—or perhaps even more so—as when the PDC [Christian Democratic Party] came to power with similar talk. Meanwhile, increases in the price of basic goods and the ever decreasing availability of work cause the ranks of the discontented and the opposition to swell daily.

Displacing the PDC, which proved incapable of even beginning to solve the country's serious problems, ARENA won a majority in elections marked by voter abstention and was inaugurated with a presidential speech which more than a few people considered moderate.

However, the president's tone did not directly affect a policy which required immediate attention: in El Salvador repression continues full force in a way that only the right wing in power can do.

The only difference is that, at present, it is more subtle and, shall we say, even sophisticated and selective as well. Disappearances, kidnappings and assassinations are now being carried out primarily against visible leaders and vulnerable points of the revolutionary and popular movement.

And all of this is occurring rather quietly as recommended by U.S. advisers so that ARENA will not lose the lead it has gained over the PDC as a result of the PDC's inaction and ineptitude during its term in office.

The attacks on union locations, the disappearance of human rights activists, and the assassinations of figures in the popular movement show that these instructions are being followed to the letter.

There has been a considerable increase in these activities during ARENA's first 3 months: neighborhood, union, and religious groups are confronting the government's position in search of a change which will guarantee their existence.

In other words, even in addition to the guerrillas (who currently have a presence in all of the country's departments), the urban commandos, and the people's militias, there are groups who reject the current state of affairs and who, logically, are increasing the FMLN's [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] support base in society, a factor which the Cristiani regime is trying to deny.

A negotiated solution to the conflict does not appear to be particularly close despite continued attempts at dialogue. Nevertheless, this is unquestionably the only possible path for this tumultuous country situated in a tumultuous geographic region.

After only 3 months in power, ARENA already has more than enough information to draw conclusions.

Rebel Radio Broadcasts Weekly Battle Report

PA3010032389

[Editorial Report] (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador at 0000 GMT on 30 October broadcasts a weekly military bulletin. According to the report, "the FMLN [Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front] inflicted a total of 52 casualties in various attacks on enemy positions and ambushes on moving military convoys during the week that has just ended. These casualties include an artillery lieutenant."

The report goes on to say that "antiaircraft actions have also occurred in Cinquera, Cabanas Department, this week. As the station reported earlier in the week, a UH-1H transport helicopter was damaged. Artillery troops were attacked between San Pablo Tacachico and

San Isidro, La Libertad Department. Coprefa [Armed Forces Press Committee] has admitted that an artillery lieutenant was included in the casualties. Troops from the 5th Infantry Brigade, who operated in Cinquera out of their jurisdiction, were worn out during the week."

The station also says that "the Atlacatl Battalion was attacked on the slopes of the San Salvador volcano, Nejapa Jurisdiction. FMLN troops also attacked local troops in San Agustin in Usulutan Department, Yamabal in Morazan Department, and Suchitoto in Cuscatlan Department. Various sabotaging actions occurred during the week. San Vicente Department, in the paracentral front, suffered sabotage on the greatest number of pylons and posts by our sappers."

FMLN Denies Attack on Mortgage Bank Director

PA3110012989 (Clandestine) Radio Venceremos in Spanish to El Salvador 0042 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Communique from the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) issued in El Salvador on 30 Oct]

[Text] The FMLN states the following concerning the attack on [Mortage Bank Director] Mr Arturo Mason Parker:

1. It is completely untrue that the FMLN participated in the attack.

2. Mr Mason's personal statements indicate who is responsible for the attack, which has been perpetrated within the framework of contradictions and disputes among ARENA [Nationalist Republican ALliance] members for control of the Mortgage Bank.

Once more the Armed Forces High Command has tried to blame the FMLN, through the Coprefa (Armed Forces Press Committee], for an attack which is clearly the result of the contradictions that prevail in ARENA.

The FMLN reasserts that any action carried out by our members is publicly and officially recognized through our radio stations or spokesmen.
FMLN
30 October 1989, El Salvador

Guatemala

URNG Reports Inflicting 30 Casualties on Army

PA3010220689 Guatemala City LA HORA in Spanish 23 Oct 89 p 8

[Text] A CERIGUA news dispatch received in this office reports that the Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity [URNG] inflicted 30 casualties on the Army in an attack on the Santa Lucia Cotzulmaguapa military base, in Escuintla Department, on 19 October.

It was also reported that the URNG attacked the troops in that military zone, launching powerful explosive charges and firing grenade launchers and machine guns at the military bases' command post, dormitories, communications center, post stations, gates, and outer defenses.

The resulting 30 military casualties, according to the URNG, contradicts the top military chiefs' report on 27 October that "no soldiers or military chiefs were injured," and thus "they make fools of themselves because the inescapable and clear testimony of thousands of residents of this major city is there," the rebels noted.

On 20 October in Escuintla, the rebels attacked with artillery and machine-gun fire the military installations at the Madre Tierra Farm, where a platoon of the Mobile Military Police was stationed. The number of casualties is unknown, but the major agroindustrial complex was heavily damaged.

Other URNG units in Solola Department clashed with and harassed on two occasions a military column, inflicting six casualties on the Army.

The URNG reported taking over, for 30 minutes, the municipality of San Miguel Panan, as well as the San Jose Belen, Santa Clara, and Chinan Farms, located in southwestern Suchitepequez Department.

So far, LA HORA reporters have been unable to interview any authorized Army representative to get any information about the URNG reports.

Reports of Further Clashes

PA3010224489 Guatemala City PRENSA LIBRE in Spanish 30 Oct 89 p 20

[Text] The Guatemalan National Revolutionary Unity (URNG) has reported that the National Army sustained 20 casualties during recent guerrilla attacks on five military garrisons in Quiche and San Marcos Departments.

A war bulletin that the URNG distributed states that in Quiche the rebels attacked garrisons in El Pinal and Vicamala, killing four soldiers. They attacked an Army column belonging to the military detachment in Cotzal, killing another three soldiers.

Recently the guerrillas made several attacks, inflicting three casualties on an Army column that had been persecuting civilians of the villages of Pal and Biputul, Chajul municipality, and destroying houses and crops.

The URNG, via the CERIGUA international news agency, also reported that its units on 20 and 22 October attacked military detachments at El Zapote ranch and the villages of Serchil and El Porvenir, San Rafael Pie de la Cuesta and San Marcos municipalities, respectively.

The armed action against the detachment in Serchil resulted in four military casualties, and the attacks on the two other military installations resulted in a number of casualties that the URNG has not yet determined.

Via CERIGUA, the URNG reported that the guerrillas maintained absolute control of the Serchil area for 3

hours, and that there were several clashes with government troops, which sustained six casualties.

Honduras

Armed Forces Reject Salvadoran Bishop's Charge

PA3010225789 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2126 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 30 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—The Honduran Armed Forces today rejected a charge leveled by Gregorio Rosa Chavez, auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, that Honduran troops entered Salvadoran territory and "threatened and beat up" peasants.

Armed Forces spokesman Manuel Enrique Suarez said that "it is false" that Honduran troops entered El Salvador, adding that he does not know what sources Rosa Chavez is basing his charge on.

According to the auxiliary bishop of San Salvador, the soldiers also set fire to peasant homes in Gualcimaca, a border area disputed by El Salvador and Honduras.

Suarez pointed out that only the guerrillas of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front (FMLN) are operating in that area and admitted that Honduran troops are near that area guarding the border, but they "do not cross the border."

Rosa Chavez on 29 October cited the religious "Legal Assistance Office," which according to him, recently carried out an "on site" investigation.

Parliamentary Delegation Visits Honduras

FL2610025089 Havana Television Service in Spanish 0100 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] A delegation of Cuban parliamentarians visiting Honduras today reiterated Cuba's interest in contributing to the establishing of peace in Central America. The Cuban delegation, the first one to travel to Honduras after diplomatic ties were severed in 1961, was invited by that country's Congress.

Roberto Lopez, head of the Cuban delegation, noted the need for peace in order to achieve development and highlighted the importance of strengthening the political process in each country according to its peculiarities.

Although Cuba and Honduras do not have diplomatic relations, there was some trade activity in 1973 and 1974. A Cuban medical mission helped the victims of Hurricane Fifi.

The Cuban representatives will visit Honduran shrimp and banana enterprises.

Liberal Deputy's Home Damaged by Bomb Blast

PA3010164489 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1529 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Tegucigalpa, 30 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—The Honduran Police are searching for two unidentified persons who on Saturday morning exploded a bomb at the home of ruling Liberal Party Deputy Diogenes Cruz. The blast resulted in no casualties.

The bomb blast partially damaged a vehicle, the parking lot, and several glass windows of Cruz' home in Tegucigalpa.

The resultant shock wave also caused minor damage at neighboring houses.

The Honduran politician, who is also a radio sports commentator and director of the sports section of a newspaper published in Tegucigalpa, lives in an exclusive neighborhood. At the time of the attack, he was in San Pedro Sula, 240 km north of this capital. No subversive movement has claimed responsibility for the terrorist attack so far.

Nicaragua

President Ortega Asks Jesse Jackson To Mediate

PA3010235589 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2317 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Managua, 30 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega today asked U.S. religious leader Jesse Jackson to mediate with the U.S. Government to permit the demobilization of the contras who are settled in Honduras.

The dismantling of the rebels was included in the agenda of the summit of 17 presidents of the Americas, held in Costa Rica on 27 and 28 October, after Ortega announced the end of the military truce he established 19 months ago.

A communique issued by the Nicaraguan Presidency today said that the Sandinist leader talked with Jackson, former Democratic presidential candidate, over the telephone today and asked him to intercede before Congress and the U.S. Administration so that it will not prevent the departure of anti-Sandinists from their camps in Honduras.

According to the report, the Sandinist leader asked Jackson to "stress in his mediating efforts" that the United States "will give the necessary support to the Tela agreements and will not stand in their way."

On 7 August, the presidents of the area agreed to the demobilization of the contras prior to 8 December under the supervision of a commission headed by the OAS and UN general secretaries.

Ortega also asked the black religious leader "for his mediation so that, in line with the U.S. law that assigned

the most recent funds to the contras, this money will be given to the United Nations and the OAS to speed up" the contra demobilization.

The Nicaraguan president explained to Jackson that only then "could a peaceful electoral process take place with the necessary security for the people and the international observers."

The Nicaraguan general elections will be held on 25 February 1990.

Ortega Seeks Advice on Cease-Fire Renewal

PA3010191389 Managua Sistema Sandinista Television Network in Spanish 0200 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Summary From Poor Reception] Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega has said that on 31 October he will state Nicaragua's official position on the renewal of the cease-fire.

Ortega said: "In the meantime, I will be in contact with the Latin American leaders. I will be in contact with President Oscar Arias and with Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez." He added: "I will be in contact with these Latin American leaders and with the President of Spain to see how we can act immediately to make the contras cease their criminal activities against the Nicaraguan people, so that the plan to demobilize the contras will be complied with on 5 December, as agreed upon by the Central American presidents. Then we would not be forced to suspend the cease-fire."

President Ortega met yesterday with Defense Minister Humberto Ortega and Foreign Minister Miguel D'Escoto to discuss the situation.

He said: "We had said that we would be forced not to renew the cease-fire and then to launch operations to punish the terrorists, who are murdering the Nicaraguan people and are hindering the electoral process."

Before hundreds of people in Rivas, he discussed the summit meeting held on 27 and 28 October in Costa Rica. He said that President Bush treated Nicaragua with respect because the Nicaraguan Revolution demanded respect.

He said: "I view as positive the historic fact that the U.S. President was sitting there listening in a clear, direct, frank, and respectful manner to the statements by the Central American and Caribbean presidents about the serious economic, political, and social problems affecting the area. This was a far-reaching event. And even more far-reaching is the fact that the president of Nicaragua was sitting there against the will of the U.S. empire. There was Nicaragua speaking firmly and strongly."

Menem To Contribute to C.A. Peace Process

PA3010225689 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1930 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Statements by President Daniel Ortega at news conference in Managua on 29 October—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Commander, what answers do you have for Mr Bush?
[Ortega] First, I wish to thank President Menem for his visit to Nicaragua to discuss the critical situation that has emerged as a result of the contras' increased activities, and the stumbling blocks the United States has created to hinder the contras' demobilization.

I have explained at length to President Menem how I interpret this situation, my understanding of it, why I feel forced to consider the [word indistinct] or rather the suspension of the cease-fire; in other words, the cease-fire will not be renewed. After discussing the issue and finding the Argentine president willing to contribute toward our peace effort and toward preventing the deterioration of the peace effort in Central America, I feel satisfied with Latin America's [word indistinct] situation.

On 28 October, I discussed this issue with President Carlos Andres Perez, and I have spoken now with President Menem, who will take the first specific steps toward saving the situation. I have told President Menem that his position will be taken very much into consideration when I establish the position that I will announce on 31 October with regard to the issue.

[Reporter] What is your answer to Bush, Commander?
[Ortega] I hope that President Bush will support the contras' demobilization and that he will contribute toward preventing the deterioration of Central America's (?peace process). I believe Bush has the potential, capability, and means to see to it that the peace plan goes through, and that the Tela agreements are fulfilled by the established 5 December deadline, the date on which the Central American [words indistinct].

If the United States has that resolve, everything will go smoothly. The funds alloted for the counterrevolution could be used. According to the laws of the United States itself, these funds can be used for the demobilization process. In other words, the funds could be turned over to the United Nations so that the contras can be transferred to Nicaragua—those who wish to return to Nicaragua—and those who do not wish to return could be relocated in other countries.

[Reporter] [Question indistinct]
[Ortega] The Argentine president and I discussed this issue in utmost sincerity. We agreed that Latin America, the Group of Eight, and the Contadora Group have been somewhat distant from the Central American peace process. The peace process has been supported mainly by the Central American countries, and I believe that President Menem's effort is very important, because he is actively involving Latin America in the process.

Cardinal Obando Concerned Over War's Resumption

PA3010205789 Managua Radio Catolica in Spanish 1130 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] The war that ended 19 months ago in Nicaragua could be resumed on 1 November of this week following the San Juan talks between the government and the Resistance.

The pause in the war has been interrupted by minor armed clashes, but apparently the offensive actions might be resumed on 1 November, according to an announcement by President Daniel Ortega. President Ortega's words have elicited reactions of all sorts at all levels, both nationally and internationally.

We have a statement by Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo, the spiritual guide of the Nicaraguans, on this topic:

[Begin Obando recording] As president of the National Reconciliation Commission, I am concerned that military operations have been resumed. We hope both the Nicaraguan Government and the armed resistance will act maturely at this time and will abstain from engaging in these warlike activities, which have continued to result in Nicaraguan bloodshed, the prelate stated. I believe that we have taken some steps toward democratization, and these warring activites are contrary to this end and could hinder the electoral process. I have said many times that we must make efforts to resolve our problems through elections, through the vote.

I reiterate the hope that both the Nicaraguan Government and the armed resistance will think of the Nicaraguan youth and also of the peasants, who are the ones bearing the brunt and the suffering of the war.

We hope the armed resistance and the Nicaraguan Government will act maturely and will make all the efforts within their reach to avoid more bloodshed. [end recording]

Continuing Coverage of National Election Process

First UN Report Released

PA3110030589 Managua LA PRENSA in Spanish 24 Oct 89 pp 1,12

[Text] The first report of the UN Observer Mission for the Verification of Elections in Nicaragua, known as ONUVEN, set up in Nicaragua on 25 August, has been revealed.

The report analyzes the initial phases of the Nicaragua election process and specifically concentrates on two main topics: The electoral system's structure and the organization of political parties and coalitions.

The report also reviews some specific subjects which affect the parties' activities and the electoral process.

This is the first report, to be used as the basis of another report, that ONUVEN will present to the world on this electoral process. The ONUVEN mission is specifically the following:

a) Verify that political parties are equally represented in the Supreme Electoral Council (CSE) and all of its organizations;

b) Verify that political parties fully enjoy their freedom to organize and mobilize themselves throughout the country, without obstruction or intimidation from anyone;

c) Verify that all political parties have equal access to the state-owned television and radio, both regarding the schedule and the duration of the broadcast;

d) Verify that the electoral registers have been properly chosen;

e) The mission may notify the CSE or its organizations of any charges which may be made or of any irregularities which may be observed in the election process, or of any possible cases of interference with this process, in order to improve the electoral process' development;

f) Present reports to the UN secretary general who, in turn, will notify the CSE according to the established procedure. The reports should be objective and based on specific events, and they must include observations and conclusions that reflect the mission's role in verifying the electoral process in Nicaragua.

As agreed, ONUVEN has kept in close contact and exchanged views with the OAS observers.

ONUVEN is currently composed of 17 officials who include three advisors, specialists in the different aspects of the electoral process. They are also supported by a group of international experts in election procedures, who will visit Nicaragua during the key phases of the election process.

The regional observers composing the mission travel constantly, as an efficient transportation and communication system becomes available, to the department capitals and municipalities in each electoral region, keeping contact with the regional electoral councils and local political leaders, and getting acquainted with everything concerning the electoral process.

An additional 22 officials will arrive for the second phase of the electoral process, between 4 December 1989 and 20 February 1990; and an additional 120 observers will arrive for the third phase, which includes the end of the campaigns, the elections, and the vote - counting process.

The first ONUVEN report registers the political parties' disagreement with the CSE law and the bias which favors the FSLN, pointing out that a series of important requests from the opposition were left out of the agreements reached by the government and the opposition during the dialogue at the Olof Palme Convention

Center in August. The requests included reorganizing the electoral system; eliminating the Political Parties' Council; granting Nicaraguans living abroad the right to vote; eliminating the 50-percent contribution, taken from foreign donations, to the Fund for Democracy; authorizing a private television channel; and declaring a general amnesty.

The report also points out that UNO [National Opposition Union] has continued to demand that the government include most of the points which were not included in the "Olof Palme Agreement."

The first ONUVEN report includes the UNO demand about the Patriotic Military Service agreement, which has not been fully complied with by the government. The government had agreed to declare a moratorium between 1 September 1989 and 28 February 1990. LA PRENSA was able to ascertain that the OAS observers are mobilizing themselves and working diligently in Boaco, Chontales and Rio San Juan. In fact, the peasants approach them once they are identified as foreign observers because they wear black shirts with the OAS letters in white.

UNO Accused of Attempted Bribery

PA3110011489 Managua Radio Sandino in Spanish 1200 GMT 18 Oct 89

[Text] Mauricio Diaz, leader of the Popular Social Christian Party [PPSC], on 17 October reported that several UNO leaders offered thousands of dollars to Rosa Amalia Torres in exchange for her abandoning her candidacy as PPSC representative to the assembly. The UNO politicians' offer demonstrates the way this organization is corrupting the electoral process, Diaz said.

[Begin Diaz recording] In more than one way, this is typical of UNO, which has been pressuring some of our party members who are on the list of candidates for assembly representatives. We hope some of the UNO members will accept that they have been exposed. Amalia Torres of Masaya has delivered to me a letter in which she is nearly being forced to (?give up her candidacy). This blackmail represents a disloyal competition because we are not purchasing anybody's conscience. The UNO is corrupting the Nicaraguan political climate and politics. They are trying to bribe people, taking advantage of the country's economic crisis. [end recording]

Spokesman Discusses Funds

PA3010223389 Managua Radio Catolica in Spanish 1130 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Ernesto Ugarte has contacted the UNO official spokesman to obtain more information regarding the receiving of U.S. funds for the UNO. We contacted Luis Sanchez Sancho, political leader of the Nicaraguan Socialist Party and UNO official spokesman. We understand that last night, after a long meeting, it was agreed to approve the economic aid granted by the U.S. Government.

[Begin Sanchez recording] The UNO Political Council last night decided to accept the economic aid recently approved by the U.S. Congress for carrying out the electoral process, the same as any other foreign material aid that anyone may wish to grant to this great effort by Nicaraguans to forever banish war, confrontation and violence, and to open the way to peaceful and democratic solutions to serious Nicaraguan conflicts. The Political Council has issued an official communique, which I will read as follows:

The UNO, in view of the offer of aid from abroad, declares the following:

1. To ratify its position expressed in its communique dated 4 October 1989 stating that: The UNO reaffirms that any financial aid from abroad or from the Nicaraguan Government will be accepted only if the UNO's free self-determination is respected in its goals of conducting the electoral process along a civic, democratic, and patriotic solution of the over-all Nicaragua crisis.

2. All economic aid consigned to the UNO must be received through the bodies appointed by the National Political Council, the top authoritiy of the UNO.
Managua, Nicaragua, 24 October 1989, UNO National Political Council.

This means that the UNO Finance Committee, particularly its coordinator and treasurer, Reinaldo Hernandez, will make the pertinent contacts to organize the channeling of the aid—half of which will go by law to the Supreme Electoral Council, whose president has already declared his willingness to receive this or any other aid from abroad—and to see that it be delivered as soon as possible due to the scant funds and resources with which the UNO has been working until now.

[Reporter] How are the nominations for councilmen going? Have you already decided how to go about these nominations? How many candidates can each party present?
[Sanchez] We are already preparing the lists of nominees for councilmen to the country's 143 municipalities. As you know, there are some municipalities that are more important than others, like Managua, which is going to elect 20 councilmen and 20 alternates. There have been insistent reports that the only important nominees that will head the lists for candidates for mayor of Managua are Arnoldo Aleman, Jose Castillo Trejos, and Agustin Jarquin. However, there are other very important municipalities that have more than 20,000 or more people, like Masaya or Granada, just to mention two, which are going to elect 7 or 8 councilmen. The rest of the municipalities, those having less than 20,000 people, will elect 5 councilmen apiece, based on the biparty sytem approved by the National Assembly. This means that 3 councilmen will belong to the party that gets the most votes, and the other 2 to the

party getting second place. It is a somehwat complicated situation, as we commented before in this same program. However it is being subject to a process based on the experience acquired by the UNO in drafting previous lists of candidates. Today we will continue in a more concrete manner to try to have the lists ready before this week is out. As you kow, the deadline established by the electoral calendar to register municipal candidates expires on 31 October.

Obando y Bravo Replaced as Conference President

PA3010181789 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 0232 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Managua, 27 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Ecclesiastic sources reported today that Msgr Salvador Schaeffer has been elected as president of the Nicaraguan Episcopal Conference to replace Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo. Msgr Schaeffer is the bishop of the Atlantic city of Bluefields.

Msgr Schaeffer was elected during a 2-day meeting of the Episcopal Conference, which is formed by 11 Catholic bishops in Nicaragua.

The Nicaraguan prelates decided that Cardinal Miguel Obando y Bravo will now be in charge of the media sector and represent Nicaragua at the Latin American Episcopal Conference.

Obando y Bravo is also the president of the Nicaraguan National Reconciliation Commission. This commission was formed in accordance with the peace agreements known as "Esquipulas II," which were signed by the Central American presidents in August 1987 in Guatemala.

Panama

U.S. Paratrooper Exercises Reported in Veracruz

PA3010222889 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] U.S. Army South paratroopers, based on the shores of the Panama Canal, early this morning carried out dangerous military exercises over Veracruz, in Arraijan Corregimiento.

The incident, in addition to being one of the U.S. Army's usual violations of Panama's airspace, and a source of intimidation and provocation, could prove very dangerous for residents of the town because of the constant mechanical problems, equipment defects, and mistakes the U.S. Army troops make.

[Begin recording of unidentified man] The way things are, it is best for us to remain at home (?while) they carry out their missions up there. [Words indistinct] arrested or having the gringos do something to them. [end recording]

This new haughty act became more than a violation of our airspace when military vehicles, enroute to Howard base, entered the town as if it were U.S. territory.

Noriega Keeps Promise, Makes Pilgrimage

PA3010190489 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 0155 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 28 Oct (DPA)—Panamanian General Manuel Antonio Noriega today kept his religious promise to the "miraculous" Jesus of Atalaya, whose church is in Veraguas Province, 233 km from the capital.

Noriega said he had placed himself in Jesus of Atalaya's care during the 3 October coup attempt against him by a group of Panamanian officers.

The head of the Panamanian military, accompanied by bodyguards, traveled approximately 7 km from the small village of Atalaya until he reached the church, thus keeping his religious promise.

In celebrating this saint's day today, devotees from all over Panama travel to the city of Santiago de Veraguas, and from there, in a pilgrimage, they walk approximately 7 km to the Jesus of Atalaya Church.

Vice President Opens Seminar for Ambassadors

PA2810214489 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 28 Oct 89 pp 1, B-2

["Text" of speech by Provisional Vice President Carlos Ozores Typaldos at opening of seminar for ambassadors in Latin America on 27 October in Panama City]

[Text] First of all, I am honored to convey to you cordial greetings from His Excellency, Provisional President Francisco A. Rodriguez P.

The national government is pleased with the Panamanian foreign minister's opportune initiative to convene this meeting of Panamanian ambassadors in Latin American countries.

This meeting had been postponed several times because of the circumstances currently affecting our country's life. However, it is a meeting that has always been included within our foreign policy plans in view of the role that must be played by the heads of our diplomatic missions in the continent.

I do not want to go into the academic definition of concepts dealing with the foreign service, about which each and everyone of you must have thorough knowledge and vast experience.

I only wish to specifically stress that each of you represents the Republic of Panama in each of the countries to which you have been posted. I know well that you are aware of such an important responsibility. However, in the current situation your functions have an importance that goes beyond the diplomatic mission originally entrusted to you.

The current situation is the result of the unjust U.S. political, economic, and diplomatic aggression against the country, and, as you well know, this aggression has touched all aspects of our nation's life. The aggression has disrupted Panama's development to such an extent that it will take many years before the country recovers—at the least—to the levels it registered in June 1987.

This means that the country today is not the same as it was 28 months ago. Panamanian society now has the dramatic choice of either maintaining its national identity or perishing under the subjugation of a foreign power.

Panama's isolation in the international community is a basic aim in the aggressive policy implemented against us. Efforts are being made to make us powerless by distancing us from our Latin American brothers, with whom we have a common history.

We know that an interventionist precedent is being tested in Panama so that it can later be applied aginst any Latin American nation determined to make its sovereign will prevail.

All of the aforementioned forces our foreign service to adopt an attitude and a position that is consistent with such a dramatic situation.

Having overcome the disorientation and the confusion, which were the result of the aggressive attacks and which had up to now made difficult the adoption of the correct strategies, we must now redefine Panama's foreign policy as a whole.

A task of this magnitude initially required the decisions that have already been adopted with regard to the laws that regulated the functioning of our Foreign Ministry, so as to adapt them to the realities and the demands of the present time.

It is obvious that the implementation of the policies developed for this purpose will not be practical or effective without a corresponding implementation in each Foreign Ministry mission abroad.

That is the reason for your presence in this seminar.

The fact that you have been summoned here reaffirms the provisional government's belief that you are the most qualified to diplomatically represent Panama abroad in such difficult moments of its history.

In the same way, we view your presence here as being evidence of your loyal commitment to the nationalist cause that espouses the principles of Torrijism and that is led by His Excellency President Francisco A. Rodriguez and General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

The country expects from this meeting, which was so opportunely organized by our Foreign Ministry, results that will bring about Panama's victory in its sovereign struggle, for the everlasting glory of our people. I declare this important seminar open. Thank you.

Minister Says Sovereignty, Noriega Not Negotiable

PA2810132589 Panama City Telemetro Television in Spanish 2300 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Government and Justice Minister Renato Pereira said this morning that General Manuel Antonio Noriega and Panama's sovereignty are not negotiable, when discussing the effects of the emergency laws with Health Ministry doctors and personnel.

Minister Pereira discussed issues concerning Panama's educational system, and said it was necessary to detoxify [desintoxicar] those Panamanian students who have been taught to remain impassive in the face of national problems.

The minister of government and justice said that the government will be inflexible toward public employees who are not loyal, adding that it is necessary to be cautious with those who avail themselves of the crisis to encourage rumors and slander about fellow workers with whom they have personal disputes.

Dr Renato Pereira said that there will be no peace for those who organized wildcat strikes. The war laws ban any action that hinders the defense of the nation, he added.

[Begin recording] [Pereira] I have said that the war laws allow no wildcat strikes in any public office. In other words, the events that occurred in the past will no longer be tolerated, meaning that it is no longer legally possible to declare a strike, abandon your public post, and simultaneously receive a salary. In fact, there will be no peace for those who organize wildcat strikes. That is what I have said.

[Reporter] Does this mean that there is no right to organize a strike within the Panamanian regime, according to the war laws?
[Pereira] Definitely, the war laws ban any action that hinders the defense of the nation. Any type of action that hinders the nation's right to defend itself is definitely abolished. [end recording]

Talk Show Discusses Rodriguez' Letter to Summit

PA3010234689

[Editorial Report] Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish at 1200 GMT on 27 October carries the 75-minute "Liberation Trails" talk show hosted by Baltazar Aizpurua and Rigoberto Paredes.

Aizpurua points out that in his open letter to the participants of the Costa Rican summit, Provisional President Francisco Rodriguez reaffirmed that "Panama continues to be open to an agreement among nations; all we ask is respect for our self-determination." He adds that Rodriguez "offered Panama as host for a multinational force against drug trafficking through an international agreement to guarantee the sovereignty and protection of the

territory of nations; in this regard, Pancho Rodriguez is giving the United States a lesson on respect for international laws."

Aizpurua says that "no presidents participating in the summit, including President Bush, can deny that this proposal of the Panamanian Government is one of the most serious proposals made in the drug trafficking struggle."

He states that Rodriguez's letter underscored the need to respect self-determination and the fact that the people produce more wealth as free nations than as colonies. This comment pertains to "the United States' permanent objective of becoming the world's master. However, there is no struggle for world hegemony with the USSR or PRC here in Latin America; what that country wants is to maintain its control over and exploit the natural resources of Latin America." Aizpurua adds that this position will hold true "as long as the United States continues to be ruled with an imperialist mentality."

He says that "the Panamanian model of democracy involves increased participation by the people in our country's main political decisions. The United States refuses to recognize this because the myth that they are the defenders of freedom and democracy would be destroyed. That is why they have plotted to assassinate our top leader Gen Noriega."

Paredes also praises Rodriguez' letter, but criticizes one thing. He says that when Rodriguez states that Panama wants to restore democratic institutions, he is suggesting that no such institutions currently exist, or that the only way to restore them is through popular elections.

He points out that "giving new life to the people's government is tantamount to giving life to democracy. We must understand what democracy is. To the extent that we upgrade the living conditions of the poor through war laws, other laws, provisions, or measures, we would be practicing democracy." Aizpurua states that he concurs with Paredes's criticism, but points out that President Rodriguez had to use diplomatic language in his open letter.

Aizpurua says that "rectionary" students from the University of Panama and the Santa Maria la Antigua University trashed the books entitled "The Truth About Panama" and "This Is No Vietnam," which contain pictures of the U.S. military aggression against our country, and which were distributed at a meeting here of Latin American university communications schools.

Aizpurua adds that we thought that the students would at least show some respect, but "it seems that we were wrong about that school headed by Dean Hipolito Donoso and University Rector Abdiel Adames; they have lost all sense of culture and respect for the truth."

Aizpurua points out that Rector Adames, among others, accompanied opposition leader Guillermo Endara to the Costa Rican summit. He goes on to note that Adames is facing fund mismanagement charges. Aizpurua adds: "How is it possible that Rector Adames is facing such a suit and is still holding his position?"

With regard to this, Paredes points out that some people are still "confusing university autonomy with absolute immunity or absolute impunity." He adds that the time has come to stop those who are "acting against the country's best interests" at the university's communications school. Paredes suggests that Adames' actions at the university are designed to please the wishes of seditious people.

Paredes says that "in Panama, these individuals have turned the university into a submissive and useful instrument at the service of oligarchic groups." He adds that colleague Euclides Fuentes, who also hosts this talk show, has denounced on this program that "the university's communications school under Dean Hipolito Donoso serves the State Department."

In this regard, Aizpurua points out "that the revolution must be brought to the university; the spirit of the New Republic must be brought to the university. I reaffirm, if we need to do this ruthlessly, we will do so ruthlessly, because we cannot allow a few people to destroy our people's spirit, consciousness, and national identity." Aizpurua adds that the country's future leaders will come from our universities and they cannot identify with U.S. culture and way of thinking.

Paredes says: The United States, using the power of money, has invaded and intervened in Panama even before it became a Republic, and we are paying for that now. He points out that "a political movement called Christian Democracy was born again from the ashes of Nazi Fascism and took hold—in thought, if not by name—in the U.S. Government and more strongly so since the Reagan administration." He adds that despite all disguises, a neo-nazi movement, which is gaining force day by day, is controls the U.S. Government. Commenting on the "Let the People Judge" column by Ricardo Lince, which deals with Endara's statements at the Costa Rican summit, Aizpurua says that Endara's objectives are two-fold: "First, with his statement, he is trying to provoke a violent reaction in Panama to the extent that he would be unable to return out of fear of losing his life." He adds: "Second, it places the burden on Bush, because should Noriega be killed, Bush and not Cuchungo [Endara's nickname] would bear the blame; Endara has already told the world that Bush will kill Noriega before Christmas."

Aizpurua continues: "Endara is frightened by a report out of Washington that the most practical way to remove Noriega from the Panama Defense Forces is to assassinate Endara. Noriega would be blamed for for his murder in keeping with the usual CIA style."

Paredes adds that "we are all too old to believe such a story; if Endara is killed, the CIA would be responsible." Aizpurua states that this is tantamount to the case of Benigno Aquino in The Phillipines.

Aizpurua also comments on the reference in Lince's column about rumors that very compromising film material was taken of Bush during a visit to Darien Province's Bahia Pinas when he served as CIA director. He adds: "This explains the direct and personally stubborn position Bush has toward Noriega that is contrary to an intelligent handling of a delicate and serious international situation." Aizpurua notes that Senator Edward Kennedy has asked Bush what his secret is with regard to Panama and says that he hopes that this film material will be shown on U.S. television someday.

Paredes says that "Bush ordered Endara to make the statements he made in Costa Rica when Bush had not yet arrived because he is trying to avoid being blamed for anything. However, the decision to assassinate Noriega was made by Bush; he said so during the elections—we will need to perform major surgery on Panama."

Aizpurua claims that Bush was involved in Iran-Contragate from the beginning under Reagan's instruction. He adds that "Bush participated in a CIA plan to assassinate U.S. Ambassador to Costa Rican Lewis Tambs and to blame the Sandinist government of Nicaragua for it." He adds that Bush is also involved in drug trafficking. Finally, Paredes says that he is proud of having accompanied Aizpurua to file suit against "criminal" Guillermo Endara. He states that we must stop "these shameless assassination attempts promoted by Endara on orders of Bush the Butcher, the murderous U.S. President."

Further on Reaction to Endara Remarks at Summit

Media Scores Comments, Summit

PA2810125389

[Editorial Report] On 27 October, official and semi-official Panamanian media continued to focus on Panamanian opposition leader Guillermo Endara's statement, reported in referent item, that "General Noriega would be subject to a military coup before year's end, and that he would leave Panama in 'wooden pajamas.'" The media has used this statement, made at the hemispheric summit currently under way in San Jose, Costa Rica, to attack the meeting and question its goals.

The main story on the front page of today's Panama City MATUTINO was headlined: "San Jose Meeting Is a Hostile Operation Against the Republic of Panama." In its editorial on page four, MATUTINO said that Costa Rican President Oscar Arias set the stage for this summit "to show off his trappings as a five-star general in the war that Bush, through his [Arias'] fumbling hands, is waging against Latin America." It is from this stage, the editorial continues, that "the voice of an individual trapped in the subworld of his stupidity, who—in a lapse of his underdeveloped brain and in a spasm of incredible untrustworthiness—revealed to the world the true purpose of the San Jose meeting," which, the editorial claims, is to "put an end to the life of the Panamanian general." Bush, the editorial says, has assigned the task "to those who would benefit directly from the much-announced crime—Endara, Arias Calderon, and Ford." The editorial concludes by saying that these three men—who occupied the opposition presidential slate in the annulled 7 May elections—should be confined to the country until a thorough investigation has been carried out. To confine them to Panama, the MATUTINO editorial concludes, "would be, to them, the harshest of punishments in the worst of all jails."

The editorial on page four of the 27 October issue of CRITICA also offers its criticism. The editorial said: "It is repulsive to watch such sniveling bondage as that observed in the epileptic tremors of the elephant-like politician, who has been capable of sinking—all the way up to his nose—in the manure of a criminal conspiracy directed against a Panamanian patriot." The editorial says that "these incredible statements by a despicable individual carrying a Yankee noose" should be punished with War Laws, and not with the usual criminal codes. The editorial expresses doubt that any attack on General Noriega would be successful, due to "the Panamanian leader's well-known knack for domesticating the fiercest of beasts," and suggests that "the North Americans search for another solution to the devastating incompetence demonstrated in the design, organization, and development of the program to recover the Panama Canal and the military bases that are about to disappear."

For its part, Panama City Domestic Service made Endara's purported statement the topic of a station commentary aired in its 1100 GMT newscast on 27 October. The commentary says that Endara's words "have been rejected by all Panamanians because our Christian upbringing does not permit talk of murdering a human being as if it was a common occurrence." The station adds that "the Panamanian people will be on the lookout and will not allow the directors of this planned attack to have their way and will prevent them from turning their words into deeds. Panama knows that it is not just the life and fate of one man, but the future of the present and upcoming generations that is at stake." The commentary concludes: "Threats will not make us turn back. On the contrary, these bearers of bad news simply spur us onward, to a definitive victory!"

On the "Drummond and Paredes" talk show aired on Panama City Radio Tic Tac at 1700 GMT on 27 October, Mr Drummond takes Endara and the summit to task, saying that all of this came about because General Noriega "said no to Poindexter." "We have to harp on this," he says, because the United States has a "purchased press" that is defaming Panama with "a poison pen." This country has been so democratic, he continues, "that it allows them to say and do things that they could not in other countries. If the statement by Mr Endara in Costa Rica 2 nights ago is any indication, you can understand what kind of people they are and what they would do if they were governing." The government, Mr Drummond continues, "has been liberal in conceding so many privileges to these people." He adds: "This same General Noriega, who they are hammering

and murdering in the press, has been very lenient with them. If I was in his position, I would have done things differently; they would see what it is to be governed by a dictator."

Leader, Summit Remarks Denounced

PA3010184289

[Editorial Report] Panamanian official media have continued to criticize the hemispheric presidential summit held in San Jose, Costa Rica, on 27 and 28 October and statements attributed to political opposition leader Guillermo Endara at the summit.

In his "Famous Letters to Tula" column in the 28 October issue of CRITICA, Communist Party member Carlos Changmarin describes the summit as President Bush's "Halloween" party organized to practice "Yankee imperialist witchcraft. Bush was advised to handle the Panama affair with the support of Latin American countries, to keep him from sullying his hands...because if his hands were sullied, he would not be able to shake hands with Gorbachev." An "ever cautious" Bush took this to the extreme, Changmarin says, and took with him to the summit his own water, food, seasonings, "and even disinfected cornhusks for his private use, to be used after satisfying his basic needs." Changmarin says that the purported objective of the meeting was to celebrate 100 years of Costa Rican democracy, a democracy "in which a foreigner can threaten a Latin American leader with death without fear of reprisal."

In the "Political Coliseum" column in the same issue of CRITICA, guest writer Elda Maud de Leon expresses surprise that "oligarchs" who have recently seen a film on the assassinated Salvadoran prelate, Msgr Oscar Arnulfo Romero, have dared to draw a parallel between Msgr Romero and Panamanian opposition leader Guillermo Endara. Citing an alleged Endara statement that "the gringos will take Noriega out in wooden pajamas sometime this year," she says that the Panamanian opposition is trying to use "praise for a crime" as an instrument of "negotiation." Maud de Leon continues: "Bush's government is the best heir that the genocidal Ronald Reagan could have hoped for. The two of them are so reactionary and obtuse that they believe they can keep all of the peoples of the Third World colonized forever. However, since subtle methods no longer suffice (scholarships, advisers, the 'philantropic' foundations, loans, and so forth) they are opting for the only alternative that is still open: The force of paid assassins recruited from among the dregs of civilian and military society."

Also citing remarks attributed to Endara in San Jose, the 29 October edition of LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL, in its "By the Way" column by Justo Arroyo, denounces a recent NEWSWEEK article on the unsuccessful 3 October coup attempt. Arroyo says that with its "characteristic puritanical hypocrisy," NEWSWEEK is trying to make people believe that the CIA has been banned from killing foreign leaders since 1976, "conveniently forgetting that Torrijos was killed after that, and that Haiti's Paul was killed just last year." Arroyo claims that the NEWSWEEK report centered on "one of those legalistic loopholes that have been used by U.S. hoodlums;" mainly, that if a leader "died accidentally" in the course of a coup, the CIA could not be blamed. Consequently, Arroyo claims, President Bush, Secretary of State Baker, and CIA Director William Webster have been discussing since 3 October, "the possible 'accidents' that could lead to the disappearance of Gen Noriega." Arroyo says that the U.S. Army has stated that an assassination is illegal "unless the President confirms that national security is in danger and orders overt action." Bush, Arroyo says, has "declared Panama a threat to U.S. security. He has thus sanctioned the murder of its leader, but remains at peace with his own immorality." Can anyone then be surprised, Arroyo concludes, "that Guillermo Endara spoke of murder in San Jose?...The NEWSWEEK article is simply a way of trivializing an abominable action."

A similar theme was echoed in Luis Restrepo's "Vox Populi" column in the same issue of LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL. Restrepo reported that Senator William Cohen admitted last week that "we cannot directly inject poison into the veins of a nationalistic leader, but we can make a bomb explode in a selective fashion," while CIA Director William Webster advocated that "the CIA again be granted full freedom of action, such as that it enjoyed when its agents managed to assassinate the nationalistic Congolese leader Patrice Lumumba." Endara was invited to the summit meeting, Restrepo said, so that he could ask Bush for a military invasion of Panama. Instead, Restrepo says, "the dim-witted" Endara revealed "the true purpose of the meeting," and consequently "upset Bush's other partners, Oscar Arias, Carlos Andres Perez, and Alan Garcia, because the world found out the true objective of the farce to which he (Endara) was invited."

Endara Departs Costa Rica

PA3010182089 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1729 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] San Jose, 30 Oct (DPA)— Panamanian opposition leader Guillermo Endara Galimany, who claims to have been elected in the 7 May elections, has announced: "I am returning to Panama to fight for my people, a people who are living under a terrible dictatorship."

Endara made brief statements to the press prior to boarding a plane for Panama. He said: "We were here in Costa Rica to celebrate the centennial of Costa Rican democracy and we return encouraged that someday our country will also have a democratic regime."

He said: "I am not afraid of the Panamanian Government. My conscience is clean."

The Panamanian opposition leader was referring to some news agency reports from Panama that charged him with having said that "before the end of this year,

Noriega (chief of the Panama Defense Forces) will leave the military headquarters in wooden pajamas."

Endara added: "I am returning to Panama with my people, and I am willing to confront anything in this struggle to establish democracy in Panama." When asked whether he was afraid of being arrested upon his arrival in Panama, he said: "I am no longer afraid."

Summoned to Justice Ministry

PA3010192889 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1833 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 30 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Panamanian opposition leader Guillermo Endara, who has just returned from Costa Rica, will appear before the Panamanian government and justice minister to explain statements he made concerning General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Endara, who upon descending from the plane received a Government and Justice Ministry summons, confirmed that he will go to the ministry at 1600 (2100 GMT). Endara denied that he ever sought the assassination of Gen Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces.

In the plane that brought him back from Costa Rica, the opposition leader told newsmen: "I am very calm." He then paused and added: "However, I am scared to death," and burst out laughing.

Endara returned from Costa Rica, where he attended, along with Christian Democratic Party President Ricardo Arias—the hemispheric summit of presidents as a "special guest." Endara was welcomed at the airport by opposition leader Guillermo Ford and by approximately 100 supporters.

In statements to the media at Omar Torrijos Airport, Endara said he has never attempted to use violence to oust Gen Noriega from the military command.

Explaining statements he made in Costa Rica, in which he reportedly said that Noriega "would only leave power in wooden pajamas (coffin)," Endara said: "We will always be nonviolent people and could not even think of or plan to perpetrate a political assassination or any other kind of assassination."

The opposition leader has been charged by Government and Justice Minister Renato Pereira with "abetting a crime."

Endara added that in his statements in Costa Rica, he was simply explaining that violence to oust Gen Noriega from the military command would come from the garrisons, from the soldiers themselves.

Government Warns Leader

PA3010224289 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 2210 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 30 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Government and Justice Minister Renato Pereira today summoned Guillermo Endara, main opposition leader in this country, to his office to warn him that his statements entail "inciting civil war" among Panamanians.

Endara was taken before the minister today upon his return from Costa Rica, where he said that Noriega "will only leave power in wooden pajamas (a coffin)," referring to Panamanian "strongman" General Manuel Antonio Noriega.

"We feel that the statements that have been attributed to Endara constitute abetting a crime and inciting civil war," Pereira said.

The Panamanian opposition leader, who attended the appointment in the company of his lawyers and a dozen followers, held a very tense but cordial dialogue with the government minister, during which it was pointed out that the phrase that caused the polemics had been said "on an amusing television program," and referred to "something I heard a fellow party member say."

"I now realize I should not have done that," Endara added.

Pereira told Endara that "if the civilians in the opposition want to put on helmets, there are other civilians (followers of the regime) who are also going to put them on."

"You do not look like a military commander to me," the minister told the opposition leader before asking him to make "efforts so that peace will prevail among Panamanians, despite the harassment by the United States."

With the intention of explaining his remarks, Endara added that the reference to Noriega's death was not referring to the result of a violent act by the opposition, but "to something that would happen in the garrisons, among officers." He added: "I would not participate in it because I do not get near the garrisons."

"Our methods are nonviolent, even though we have been the victims of violence," Endara responded when the minister accused him of promoting confrontation among civilians and inciting people to "commit crimes."

At the end of the meeting, which lasted approximately 20 minutes, the minister said that summoning the opposition leader did not have a judicial bearing and that, as of now, the matter is in the hands of the attorney general, who has received several complaints of alleged abetting of a crime."

One of these complaints called for Endara's immediate arrest and sentencing to 5 years in prison.

Pereira accused the Panamanian opposition leader of "riding on the U.S. policy bandwagon" and of "going crazy" with remarks made abroad against the regime.

Endara rejected this accusation and replied that, during the summit of hemispheric leaders in Costa Rica, which he attended as a guest, he not only met with U.S. President George Bush, but also with "Commander Daniel Ortega," the Nicaraguan president.

"You must know, Mr Minister, that we are not going to ride on the gringos' bandwagon," Endara emphasized, adding that "no one can claim patriotism as his exclusive right."

Duque Gives Speech on Current Struggle, Efforts

PA2910052189 Panama City Domestic Service in Spanish 1635 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Speech by Carlos Duque, president of the Democratic Revolutionary Party, PRD, to the PRD National Directorate at meeting in Balboa Theatre, Balboa—live]

[Text] His excellency Carlos Ozores Typaldos, vice president of the Republic; messrs cabinet ministers; messrs directors of autonomous institutions; comrades of the National Executive Council [CEN]; members of the Democratic Revolutionary Party's [PRD] National Directorate; newspaper, radio, and television reporters; ladies and gentlemen:

I think we should refer to the members of the party's National Directorate as esteemed and dear friends, because during these work sessions we have learned to understand them, to esteem them, and to appreciate them.

To us, the meeting we are holding here today at Balboa Theatre—which is not the traditional venue of PRD meetings—is a momentous and historic event. It is historic because, for the first time, the PRD National Directorate is meeting at Balboa Theatre, which is located in a reverted area. Today we have to feel more proud to be Panamanian and more proud of our guide, of our leader, General Omar Torrijos [applause]. The Torrijos - Carter treaties were signed thanks to the efforts and dedication of Gen Torrijos, and because of it we are here making use of this theatre, otherwise it would be showing at this moment one of Ronald Reagan's old cowboy movies. [laughter, applause]

We had said that motions would be filed during the miscellaneous phase of the agenda. However, with due respect and your permission—particularly that of distinguished professor Paredes [Rigoberto Paredes] I would like to propose to the gentlemen directors here that we publicly recognize and congratulate our president, Francisco Rodriguez Poveda, for the depth and timeliness of his open letter to the United States, open to the presidents of Latin America [as heard].

Two fundamental paragraphs of that letter suffice to destroy the whole framework of the summit mounted by Oscar Arias, with fervent support from George Bush and James Baker III. [applause] In his open letter, President Rodriguez reiterates a commitment to restore democratic institutions in Panama through popular elections, with broad previous guarantees, and to eliminate the external factors preventing self-determination by Panamanians. I quote at this point because this is precisely one of those two paragraphs by the president. I quote: It is incomprehensible—the president, our president, our fellow party member, and also member of this directorate, adds—to speak about a problem of democracy in Panama without mentioning the merciless economic, political, and diplomatic aggression that the United States has launched against us, and this is without mentioning the unending harassment by U.S. Armed Forces in our territory. End of quote.

In my opinion, these two paragraphs completely destroy this summit, which does not even have an agenda. A Dominican writer has dubbed it as the summit of the six d's—debt, drugs, unemployment, democratization, democracy, deforestation, and some other d I forgot. He missed the seventh d, which is the d of dependency, because that is the objective of the meeting. [applause]

I do not see how subjects like debt can be broached while excluding countries which are precisely bound by that debt. I do not see how one can discuss the subject of drugs when this scourge harms all of us. Furthermore, I think Panama has repeatedly been the country that most strongly and harshly attacked drug trafficking, because Panama is not fertile ground for drug traffickers. And Panama will continue its struggle, even if it is without help from the United States, in attacking and combating the drug traffic.

One of the things that is perhaps worth reflecting on is that deforestation is one of the famous six d's and Cuba is the country with the lowest rate of deforestation in Latin America. The ones who are knowledgeable on the subject are precisely the ones left out. This shows the quality of that meeting. That is why I say that the most important thing regarding the meeting in Costa Rica is our president's letter.

We feel very proud of President Rodriguez as president and as a party member. A keen but sober style, which reflects President Rodriguez' personality, enhanced the importance of the president's document when he said, and I quote: The day we really want to end to every vestige of colonialism, the first thing we will have to question is the legitimacy of one or more nations pretending to have the exclusive power of defining, countersigning, or determining what democracy is.

Members of the PRD Directorate, these two paragraphs essentially reflect the most important part of that famous meeting.

Fellow members of the PRD National Directorate and CEN [National Executive Commission], I ask for a vote of encouragement and solidarity for our president, who is supported by the legitimacy of his nationalist and revolutionary conduct. I think that it is necessary—and I submit this for consideration by the plenum of this directorate—that this open letter be distributed in leaflet form to all working centers, stores, enterprises, religious

centers, and Panamanian Embassies as the new republic's most ennobling pronouncement.

This is the second time the president has had the opportunity to tell Panama's truth to the world. On that famous 3 October, the day of the recently foiled coup against General Manuel Antonio Noriega, he had the opportunity to attend in New York City —not knowing what was really happening in Panama because he was at the headquarters of the world champions of democracy and was receiving all sorts of misinformation—a meeting with the presidents of countries who were in New York at the time and who were also attending the UN General Assembly, at which he protested in a historic speech against the open, barefaced, and dishonest meddling by the U.S. in the events that had occurred in Panama a few hours earlier.

Gentlemen, that is why I have taken the liberty of making this public acknowledgment.

This is also a fitting occasion to refer to another fellow party member who is also a member of this directorate, at a par in quality with the PRD militants, and vice president of the Republic, Dr Carlos Ozores. [applause] That is why I told you that today's meeting is historic. The president of the Republic, and the vice president, both of whom belong to the directorate and to the party, are in this meeting. That is the president will be here.

Vice President Ozores attended the meeting of nonaligned countries in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, along with the also outstanding and meritorious Dr Nils Castro. The speech delivered by his excellency, the vice president, was a strong and historic speech of great depth. Its effects were reflected in the resolution that was issued by the nonaligned countries. Against all expectations, the resolution backed Panama's self-determination and respect for the principle of noninterference in the national affairs of other countries.

Vice President Ozores has just made an extraordinarily brilliant presentation at the meeting held by COPPPAL [Permanent Conference of Latin American Political Parties] in Mexico last week. In a speech there, he outlined Panama's position.

The solidarity of the COPPPAL members with Panama's struggle was ratified in the document drafted in that meeting. This is why I am hereby making this public recognition to these two PRD members, who at present occupy the positions of president and vice president. I think this is the main subject. They are underlining what has been called The New Republic. Thanks. [applause] I am taking this opportunity to thank all of our fellow party members who have sent us messages of solidarity and support. Thanks, Fidel. These messages encourage and strengthen our willingness to continue our nationalist struggle with your cooperation.

The PRD has convened its national directorate to transmit to the members and the local and international public our voice, our feelings for a homeland under aggression, and the hope of a people who, although under aggression for more than 2 years, keep its forehead high and continues to struggle to consolidate its independence. It is courage and dignity which enable these people to continue firmly onward in their national liberation project despite all threats and international blockades. Those who think they can bend us are in error. They were, are, and will be in error. I am also taking this opportunity to congratulate the Dignity Battalions again. [somebody shouts: Present!] [applause]

Dear Commander Colamarco, these battalions have written a page in this country's history. I think we should back and accompany them and initiate a registration in these battalions. [applause] In these battalions it is not important, how old or how fat the person is, but the support they can offer at a specific time. They demonstrated this on 3 October. Some of the Dignity Battalion members were wounded. This is why all of us, as Panamanians, should be very proud to rely on these Dignity Battalions. We should be even more proud when every PRD member becomes a battalion member and cooperates as necessary. [applause] It is necessary to back these battalions, these men and women who devote part of their working time, I mean, their free time, to conduct excercises with the limitations we all know exist. I am even calling on all those fellow members who can to back these battalions financially. Thanks. [applause]

With the support of the political parties, a new government was installed on 1 September. This new government was designed to straighten our course, resume Torrijism and, through a new style of leadership, strengthen the people's power as a guarantor of the consolidation of our national liberation project. We thought this was the time to initiate the merging of liberation with development. Imperialism, however, has continued to harass us. We will continue our project, however. We will stubbornly continue. We have to continue our struggle with the same unity, discipline, respect, and militancy. We will support the executive branch's activities, always hoping that the decisions taken will do all of us.

The events of 3 October determined one stage in the struggle for national liberation, and the beginning of another stage of this struggle. Consequently, all of our actions henceforth are influenced by the events that nearly ended in the assassination of the highest conductor of our liberation project, General Manuel Antonio Noriega [applause], the general of dignity, who on that day demonstrated the courage of a military man committed to his people, a military committed to the national liberation project. He demonstrated to those clownish military men that he has big balls. [applause] It is no secret that those actions were planned and perpetrated under the U.S. Government's guidance. [someboby in the background shouts: Bastards!] Indeed. Once again, this government showed allegiance to one of the most venturesome and dangerous policies that originated in the ultraconservative and fascist sectors of the U.S. The shameless utterances of its main mouthpieces

have shown this to be so. Recently they have bordered on lunacy. These leaders are on the verge of collective hysteria. The CIA has asked permission to assassinate Noriega. I think this is unprecedented in history. These threats indicate that these are not the feelings of the U.S. people, who have a different idiosyncrasy. The U.S. people do not believe in those demonstrations of machismo, that international relations should be handled as in James Bond, Rambo, or Western movies. Quite the contrary, that minority group, gentlemen, does not represent the U.S. public.

I am sure the U.S. people oppose those macho demonstrations, those arrogant, belligerent demonstrations. The Costa Rica meeting agenda includes disarmament. How can they speak of disarmament when they are arming the troops stationed at the canal area here in Panama?

How can they speak of disarmament in a summit while maintaining forces and an Army in a hostile, aggressive stance against a defenseless people, whose only weapon is reason, right, and the aspiration to live freely and be sovereign. As a response to this action, the national government must take every initiative, both in local and international fronts, to report the consequences that such a tremendous irresponsibility would bring for the stability and peace of Panama, Central America, and all of Latin America.

I would also like to add that the PRD has always initiated working tours abroad with distinguished party members. The popular forces of foreign members and friendly parties and groups have been briefed on the truth about Panama. The party has visited Argentina, Chile, Ecuador, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, the Caribbean countries, Costa Rica, Mexico, and Europe. With the effort of all and the support we hope to get, we will continue this international counteroffensive. The adventure of 3 October is one more link in the aggression which the U.S. Government has been carrying out since 1986 against our government—against our government but most of all against our people—to install in Panama a docile, antipopular, antidemocratic government that will ensure the hegemonic U.S. interests in our country. Claiming to struggle for democracy as a pretext, the administration of George Bush has violated all legal norms of his own country and international laws. They want to export a democracy made by them, designed by them, and to be executed in their own style. However, they follow a very simplistic principle—accusing and attacking the Panamanian people, but denying visas to Panamanians who can go and defend the Panamanian position. This is in itself an antidemocratic principle, because it is like listening with only one ear. For this reason, I ask myself, where is the so-called democracy of the United States, where those to whom they are pointing an accusing macabre finger are not even given the opportunity to defend themselves.

What is most serious, gentlemen directors, is that civil sectors close to the Civic Democratic Opposition Alliance (ADOC), in complicity with the Bush administration, have publicly stated their commitment to this seditious adventure, demanding U.S. military intervention in Panama and, listen carefully, the assassination of Gen Noriega. Therefore, our party supports the Panamanian Government's decision to legally proceed against all those Panamanians who, from Costa Rica, through their public statements, violate the Constitution and the laws of our country. [applause]

This is because ours is a country of legality. Ours is a country of laws and a democratic country, and all persons facing accusations do get an opportunity to defend themselves here. They must not be afraid, because Panamanian justice is very broad, very democratic. We are going to demonstrate this. We are showing the world and are giving President Rodriguez... [changes thought] Referring to President Rodriguez's letter, newsman Baltazar Aizpurua said that President Rodriguez was giving a lesson on international law to the United States.

The U.S. strategy also involves coaxing certain Latin American countries into joining its criminal adventures against Panama. The meeting of Latin American presidents in Costa Rica, in which Mr Bush was present and from which some governments in the region, including that of our country, Panama, were excluded; the 23d meeting of the OAS to be held in November, in whose agenda the topic of Panama is also included; and the bilateral initiatives which the Bush administration is implementing are intended, oriented, and aimed at isolating our country and at justifying armed actions because the goal and objective all of these actions is to find a way to justify an armed action.

It also includes psychological operations against the Panama Defense Forces [FDP] and the Panamanian patriotic forces. However, as Gen Noriega said in his historic speech at a meeting in which Panamanian women rendered him a tribute—a meeting which had been scheduled before the developments of 3 October, and therefore further ennobles Panamanian women—they got all screwed up. I also tell them now that they are going to get all screwed up. [applause, laughter]

The steps which the Foreign Affairs Ministry has taken are aimed at carrying out a counteroffensive at the international level to break our isolation and to establish diplomatic relations with all countries which [applause] we do not have relations with, and which are of vital importance because of our status as a country of passage. We have to establish diplomatic relations with all European and African countries which, because of their specific weight in the Movement of Nonaligned Countries, represent a relationship that is vital to our interests. [applause]

We are years behind in this effort to establish relations with all countries in the world. However, we are going to

make up for lost time. Panama has been, is, and will be a democratic country, a country with an open economy, and a country of service. It is a contradiction for a country with an open economy and a country of service not to maintain relations with all free countries in the world. The canal will revert to Panama in the year 2000, and this indicates that we must have open relations with all countries in the world.

We have managed to obtain the support and solidarity of the social organizations, political parties, and popular organizations in Latin America, Europe, the Third World, and the United States that have clearly understood that the Panamanian people's struggle is just and patriotic, and that our struggle is for national independence. Consequently, the PRD pledges to, and we bound to strengthen its political work with those organizations.

At the internal level, the war laws that were recently enacted by the executive branch—which should instead be described as laws of emergency or of priority, given the situation—were specifically designed to stop the seditious actions of our enemies who are entrusted in the government apparatus.

Nobody—nobody—should delude himself. Mr vice president, President Rodriguez, on behalf of all of us, the 200,000 Panamanians who make up this party, we earnestly ask that your government enforce those decrees with the full rigor required in this case. [applause].

Mr vice president, and vice president of the PRD, the PRD supports you, and will continue to support you without any doubt. We have trust in you. [applause]

Mr PRD vice president: The PRD supports and will continue to support you. We trust you. [applause] Similarly, our party has been working through its front of professionals and specialized commissions in outlining a government platform that contemplates the completion of a number of legislative and administrative initiatives to strengthen the country's economic development and find solutions for our country's huge social problems. Our party trusts the president's word that this government program will be implemented with the expediency required by the need that our government becomes genuine in the mind and will of all our countrymen. We must acknowlege the work carried out by this front of professionals. [applause] We must recognize the ability of and the professionalism demonstrated by this front. We must also recognize the efforts of the working commissions that have drafted this program. I myself can attest to the long hours of work put in by these gentlemen who have even skipped meals. Thanks to this front of professionals. I am hereby encouraging provincial directors and presidents to report all those development projects you think can be completed in your respective provinces. These projects should be submitted to the party so the party's political and working commissions can study them. I think this is a contribution we all can make. I have always said the party should not discriminate regarding work. We must include all those who want to join the working commissions.

This government plan must include the new education law, which we need so much and whose lack has done us such great harm. We should also include the new laws on children and family, media, a new tax reform, administration of reverted properties (which includes Professor Rigoberto Paredes's proposal), agrarian reform, incentives for construction, and changes on the current banking legislation. It is important to point out here that these do not represent an attack either against the private enterprise or private or foreign investors. Quite the contrary, these laws stimulate and are an incentive for businessmen, industrialists, and the working class. We also should include changes to the current industrial legislation and the law awaited for a long time by the Panamanian people, the civil service law. I believe this package of laws should not be regarded as emerging from this front of professionals and the working commissions alone. These laws represent the old aspirations of our society, which have already been intensely and thoroughly studied. These laws have been ready to be implemented for a long time.

That is why they are called war laws, emergency laws, whatever you may want to call them. These are laws that the country, the new republic, needs to have the dynamism we are expecting, especially in view of the situation.

The PRD will back the approval of a bill on community organizations that has been presented to the executive. The purpose of this bill is to organize the communities in such a way that community activities will entail the participation of corregimiento representatives. [applause]

This bill will also be aimed at establishing provincial government norms. It will be the first tool created to face the U.S. aggression because this bill envisages convening the masses to join the defense and consolidation of the national liberation movement.

This directorate meeting has been convened to discuss party tasks so that all party structures, as of this moment, stay alert to fulfill the defense and mobilization tasks that I will list now:

1. We hereby urge all the members to establish in their neighborhoods, communities, and corregimientos, a defense and mobilization structure that will have precise instructions that must be followed the moment the party gives the order. [applause]

These organizations will allow us to defend the streets, the country, and our program when the situation eventually demands it. This is a task we all have.

2. We hereby urge all members to begin issuing party identification cards in the next few days and to provide the information we will request in order to establish new channels of communication with all of you. This is an

imperative need because we have too many cockroaches in the party and they must be fumigated. [applause]

To accomplish this task, fellow CEN members, Mr secretary of organizations, you have acquired today the commitment to carry out an internal purge. [applause]

I do not want to be told at a forthcoming meeting of the PRD National Directorate that we have not done anything in this regard. We must have answers. If we do not, I will not be present at that meeting to avoid having to withstand [people shout][sentence unfinished, as heard].

3. We hereby announce that in the next few days the party's newspaper will be circulating. [applause] In that newspaper, all our party militants will be able to express their ideas and receive instructions, information, and analyses that the party will make available to its members

This is a good opportunity and occasion to publicly acknowledge journalists as eminent as Luis Restrepo [applause] who for years, from the days when everything was smiles and everything was nice, has been daily and bravely denouncing in his newspaper column all the violations of the Torrijos - Carter treaties. He has always kept track of the violations.

We also want to acknowledge journalists like our friend Wilo Ramiro, our distinguished honor tribunal prosecutor—Baltazar Aizpurua—[applause]. He is a man who daily dares to write and say what others do not dare say and do not dare write. Sometimes I wonder, Baltazar, if you have time to sleep. I say this because in the morning you see the first light of day with Rigoberto [Paredes] [people laugh and shout loudly]. You did not let me finish, they see the first light of day at Radio Nacional working, let this be clear. [Duque laughs]

Journalists at the level of Justo Arroyo, Mario Augusto Rodriguez, Graell, all the journalists of our party will have in that newspaper a new trench so that the party may take pleasure in your bravery, and so that Margarita Sevillano and all the members of our cultural front may have an organ in which to express their ideas.

This is a different party, a pluralist party. This party has an enterprise front and a labor union front; a cultural front and a war front. This is a unique party, a party we must safeguard. Personal positions are irrelevant, they are transitory. The institution remains.

We understand that our positions at the head of the party are temporary, and we accept that. We must continue struggling for our party, for the program of Omar Torrijos, and for the dignity being championed now by Gen Noriega. All the Panamanians have the obligation to do this.

I know for a fact that every time we have appealed for cooperation from distinguished members of past PRD National Executive Councils, such as Dr Romulo, Rigoberto, Dr Abadia, Berta, our Berta Arosemena—who is president for life of our party, as General Torrijos was—they have always responded to the calls from the party. I want to acknowledge this because it is good to do it. I want to acknowledge the militancy and the dedication of Dr Romulo Escobar Bethancourt, who has always responded to all the calls from the party, regardless of the time he may have to invest or the sacrifices he may have to make. Thank you, Romulo. [applause]

4. We hereby announce the beginning of the school to train party cadres. It will be functioning for the next 3 months. Remember this because in 3 months you are going to be asked how much progress we have made on this 4th point. We will have brief seminars, training courses, and we will give political and military training to more than 50,000 party members. [applause]

We like to tell Gen Noriega, President Rodriguez, and Vice President Ozores, that they can count on a party that is prepared to go all the way. [applause]

This national directorate has been convened also to restructure the ranks of the party so that new leaders may take important positions. This way we will have new blood and new ideas [applause] added to the immortal Torrijist mainstream. When I say new blood, I am not excluding anyone. All of us have tasks. I was told once to mention people by name but I am not going to mention any names. It happens that when the time comes to elect figures for a particular position, we find that we don't have the names of the people for that position. This happens. I have discussed this with Minister Darien Ayala, a hard - working man, a man from the rural areas who knows the country well and knows the political cadres. Sometimes we find that if we want to appoint a person to a leadership position we do not find fresh blood because they have not joined the work effort. [people shout]

You all have opportunities. Remember that it is not he who shouts the loudest who is right. Merits are earned in the struggle, merits are earned with work, merits are earned by being militant, but with discipline, order, and respect.

It is necessary that we, the members of the party, begin by showing respect for our fellow party members. Let's begin by showing mutual respect. The respect we demand of others, we must demand of ourselves. This has to be the behavior of all the members of the party. [people shout: San Miguelito neighborhood: present] Thank you. Only by combining doctrines and actions; and analyses with tasks, with specific tasks, will we be able to continue defending and consolidating our national liberation program. This is, members of the national directorate, the task of this directorate. Welcome. At our meetings with the directorate, with the political committee, and as soon as we have a chance with the mass fronts, we feel pleased and happy because we feel as if they were family meetings, meetings among friends that have broad discussions.

To conclude I want to ratify what we have been saying for a long time, something we have heard from distinguished patriots and women like Margarita and Zelideth Rosales: To Panama our lives! [applause]

Outlines Directorate Proposals

PA2910235389 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 29 Oct 89 pp 1-A, 8-A

[Text] Revolutionary Democratic Party [PRD] President Carlos Duque has said his party will politically and militarily prepare 50,000 cadres to defend the process of national liberation and General Manuel Antonio Noriega, commander in chief of the Panama Defense Forces. Duque made the remarks in his speech at the conclusion of the PRD's National Directorate meeting on 28 October at the Balboa Theater.

"The PRD cadres will be mobilized street by street and community by community to provide backing to the Dignity Battalions and the CODEPADI [Committee for the Defense of the Fatherland and Dignity] to face any situation that may arise in the country," Carlos Duque noted. Duque clearly stated that the seditious cockroaches who have infiltrated the PRD and become embedded in the government's payrolls will be fumigated.

During the meeting of the PRD National Directorate, a resolution was issued asking Provisional President Francisco Rodriguez to open consular and diplomatic relations with all the countries of the world, especially with the Soviet Union.

Historical aspects were included in the discussion of this resolution, since during all these years Panama has had to postpone establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union on account of U.S. pressure and threats.

The PRD National Directorate also approved other resolutions. One of them dealt with the creation of the province of Western Panama, covering the area between the San Carlos sector and the Panama Canal coast (Bridge of the Americas).

Another resolution dealt with the issuance of Canal Bonds, valued at no less than 2 billion balboas, at a yearly interest rate ranging from 9 to 12 percent, payable in 20 years.

Another resolution was also introduced to legalize the circulation of strong currencies, in addition to the dollar, such as the Japanese yen, the German mark, the French franc, the English pound, and the Italian lira, as a way to strengthen Panama's financial center.

Amendments to the banking law, to enhance the banking and financial center's competitiveness with other international financial centers, were among the approved resolutions.

The PRD National Directorate also approved a resolution on the sale of the reverted areas to build true industrial, commercial, and housing zones, because of the major economic benefits that such new investment would promote in said areas.

The establishment of an international lottery was also included in one of the resolutions. As for the agrarian aspect, a resolution was approved on the enactment of truly revolutionary land reform, through amendments to the Agrarian Code, the creation of an Agrarian Court, and a dynamic and participatory land ownership system.

The majority of these proposals were submitted by the Western Panama Delegation to the National Directorate. Chame City Mayor Andres Munoz presented the proposal on the creation of a new province. Professor Rigoberto Paredes submitted all the economic proposals.

On another matter, Carlos Duque described the summit of American heads of state held in Costa Rica this weekend as a summit "without importance, dependent."

The Costa Rican meeting was dubbed the meeting of the six "D's": democracy, debt, drugs, deforestation, disarmament, and development, but Duque felt a seventh "D" was omitted, the "D" of dependence.

Carlos Duque clearly voiced the PRD's support for the government's decision to file suit against Guillermo Endara, who remarked in Costa Rica that Noriega would be killed before the end of the year.

In acknowledging President Francisco Rodriguez, Duque noted: "Let us publicly recognize and congratulate our President Francisco Rodriguez Poveda for the depth and timeliness of his open letter to the United States, open to the presidents of Latin America."

Later, Duque noted "two paragraphs of that historic letter sufficed, two fundamental paragraphs sufficed to destroy the entire concept of the summit mounted by Oscar Arias with the fervent support of George Bush and James Baker III."

Carlos Duque endorsed the idea of distributing President Rodriguez' letter in leaflet form to all job centers, stores, enterprises, religious centers, and Panamanian embassies "as the noblest pronouncement of the new Republic."

"The 3 October events determined the end of a stage in the struggle for national liberation and the beginning of another stage of this struggle. Consequently, all our actions henceforth are influenced by the events that nearly ended in the assassination of the highest leader of our liberation project: General Manuel Antonio Noriega," Duque stated. Carlos Duque charged again that the 3 October events were planned and carried out with U.S. Government guidance.

Aizpurua Elected General Secretary of Union

PA3010200589 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 30 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Journalist Baltazar Aizpurua, who headed the "Nationalist Vanguard" ticket, won the Journalists Union of Panama's elections on 29 October. He was elected general secretary with 129 valid and 3 blank votes.

The "Nationalist Vanguard" ticket was the only ticket that participated in the union's elections. Voting began at 0900 and ended at 1600 of 28 October.

Aizpurua is renowned for his struggles for our national sovereignty, and the union formally announced his victory at the election.

The electoral tribunal was formed by Luis Quintero Barrera, president; Garrit Geneteau, member; and Reynaldo Labastide, secretary.

The representative of the Nationalist Vanguard's ticket at the Electoral Tribunal was Antonio Grael Flores, and the Labor Ministry was represented by Marco A. Matos.

Aizpurua will replace Ramon Castellanos, who is the current general secretary of the Journalists Union of Panama.

There were 162 union members who were eligible to vote in accordance with the union's bylaws and 132 members actually voted.

PCC Directors Protest Meeting Cancellation

PA3010231589 Panama City CRITICA in Spanish 27 Oct 89 pp 1, 14

[Letter sent by Panama Canal Commission, PCC, Directors Oyden Ortega Duran and Carlos Ozores to PCC Board of Directors President Robert Page in Panama City on 26 October]

[Text] 26 October 1989
Mr Robert Page, president
PCC Board of Directors
Dear Mr Page:

We have been informed that, in an untimely, irregular manner, and without following established procedures, the meetings scheduled to be held in Tampa, Florida on 26 and 27 October 1989 have been canceled. Nevertheless, more than 10 U.S. PCC officials have traveled to Tampa, and we believe these trips are not justified.

We interpret that the cancellation of the board of directors meeting is a U.S. Government attempt to condition its compliance to the Torrijos-Carter treaties to political factors based on the present situation between the governments of Panama and the United States. In this case, the U.S. Government would be turning its back on the most elementary norms of compliance of international treaties.

We take this opportunity to formally express our strong protest for the arbitrariness with which procedures have been implemented at the PCC board of directors. These procedures have been implemented without the required consultation with the Panamanian members of the board of directors; these members have the same standing as the rest of the U.S. board members. The treaty does not stipulate in any of its articles that one of the members of the board of directors can unilaterally impose decisions on the rest of the board. Unless, of course, the U.S. Government now wishes to go against the treaties, impose the law of the strongest, and go against its image as champion and defendor of international human rights, liberty, and democracy.

We believe it is opportune to recall that the immediate effect of the Panama Canal treaties was to eliminate the causes of conflict between Panama and the United States. However, the attitude of the U.S. board of directors members goes directly against the treaties' important attainments. Mr President, we believe that the only way to attain the objectives of cooperation and understanding created by these treaties is maintaining the canal free from any government politics that may hinder the canal's efficient operation. The reason for the U.S. Government's unilateral decision to cancel the board of directors meeting is basically political in nature,and with it the treaties' objectives are being denied and the canal's operation is being jeopardized.

It is necessary to state that the following topics have been included, for the third time, in the agenda to be discussed in our directorate board meetings, which we have not been able to attend due to several U.S. Government maneuvers:

1. The canal's maintenance and improvements.

2. The specialized training which is required in the PCC and is not available in the Republic of Panama's education centers.

3. The Panamanian labor force's increased participation at every PCC level.

These topics represent the basis, substance, and goal of the treaties, because their aim is to guarantee the gradual turnover of the canal to the Republic of Panama, and guarantee that the canal will continue to be efficient and safe after 2000.

The senseless decision to suspend the directorate board meeting scheduled for October 1989 represents another act of harassment by the U.S. Government against the Republic of Panama. The decision affects the canal users' interests because the canal's operations depend on close cooperation and mutual understanding between the Government of Panama and the United States which, through their representatives at the directorate board, analyze and approve everything concerning the general policies that must be carried out so that the waterway may operate efficiently and safely, thus benefiting the merchant navies of all the countries in the world.

Truly yours.
Oyden Ortega D., director
Carlos Ozores T., director

Company Director on Talks With U.S. Companies

PA3010200389 Panama City Televisora Nacional in Spanish 2300 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Benjamin Colamarco, general director of IRHE [Institute of Hydraulic Resources and Electrification], has stated that the talks with European and U.S. companies to obtain the equipment and materials that the IRHE uses to maintain and repair electrical systems and electricity generating plants have made good progress.

[Begin recording] [Colamarco] There are European, South American, and even some U.S. companies—we refrain from giving names—which have supported our work, so we have made good progress in this regard.

The inability to carry out cleaning maintenance on the 230,000-kilowatt transmission lines coming from Llano Sanchez to Panama, especially in the Cocoli area, is our utmost concern. Cocoli is a military area of coordination where the United States has a shooting range. The U.S. forces have impeded the access to these areas by IRHE linemen and technical personnel to repair damage on the 230,000-kilowatt transmission lines going through the area.

We want to take this opportunity to denounce this anomaly, this irregularity, and this violation of a sovereign right of our country to perform our duties of checking the lines in that area, where we have confronted some problems in the past.

[Reporter] Given the lack of maintenance to those lines caused by the U.S. Army obstruction of IRHE's duties, what will be the consequences for the national electrical system?

[Colamarco] Well, the most serious problem there is that some insulators have cracks, and if we do not give them timely maintenance it will cause arcs. These arcs would in turn affect the two phases, and we could experience some blackouts, not throughout the country but in certain areas. [end recording]

Shipping Director on Merchant Marine Status

PA2710162589 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2229 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 25 Oct (DPA)—Alexis Arias, the acting director of General Consular and Ships Directorate [SECNAVES], stated today that the United States "will not adopt" the measure that prohibits ships under the Panamanian flag from calling at U.S. ports, because this measure would negatively affect the interests of U.S. shipbuilders who use Panamanian registry.

Arias said that as part of the policy "of intimidation by Washington against Panama, this possibility has been talked about for some time," but he noted that his office has taken internal and external actions to counter this possibility. Arias explained that a U.S. lawyer has been hired to take steps to prevent the interests of U.S. shipbuiders using Panamanian registry from being affected.

Arias also announced that a maritime safety office that had been in New York to provide inspection and technical certification services for ships under the Panamanian flag, but which was closed in August by the Bush administration, is now working in Panama City, in the SECNAVES headquarters.

The acting director also disclosed that the 1989 registry of ships under the Panamanian flag is going ahead according to estimates. He added that for 1989, 630 new ships have been registered in the Panamanian merchant fleet, composed of some 15,000 ships, a number exceeded only by Liberia.

In view of Liberia's decision to apply a single rate for the registration of ships, Arias advanced that SECNAVES will present a proposal before President Francisco Rodriguez to "establish competitive rates" and thus maintain the level of the Panamanian merchant fleet.

The registration of ships represents about $50 million in direct revenues, and an equal amount in indirect revenues for the Panamanian treasury.

Argentine Colonel Seineldin 'Ready' To Return

PA3010012089 Panama City LA REPUBLICA DOMINICAL in Spanish 29 Oct 89 p 14-A

[Letter from Argentine Col Mohamed Ali Seineldin to Revolutionary Panamenist Party President (PPR) Luis "Toty" Suarez dated 25 October in Buenos Aires, from the "Panamenist Creed" page published by the PPR Information Committee]

[Text] Buenos Aires, 25 October 1989:

My dear Toty Suarez; With fond memories of you, your disciples, and your dynamic political movement, I send you a warm embrace and thank you for the beautiful picture you sent me and, especially, for your insightful letter. Here in my desk beside that picture, I have a photograph of the professors of my beloved school for political cadres: Napoleon Ruiz, Horacio Rodriguez Ocana, Javier Lopez, Ricaurte Arosemena, Francisco Puente, Julio Newball, Jorge Tomlinson, and Sanchez [not further identified].

With deep feelings, I am following all that is happening in Panama and I am ready to come there quickly in the face of an emergency.

Dear Toty, I wish to send through you a warm embrace to all my friends, as I pray to God and the Virgin Mary for your noble action.

With a strong embrace, God and fatherland...or death!
Col Mohamed Ali Seineldin

[Text of this letter comes accompanied with photocopy of handwritten letter by Seineldin]

'Might Mediate' Situation

PA3010012889 Panama City ACAN in Spanish 1728 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] Panama City, 29 Oct (ACAN-EFE)—Col Mohamed Ali Sieneldin, leader of the latest military rebellion in Argentina and a former adviser of the Panama Defense Forces [FDP], is "ready" to return to the country, according to a letter written by him and published today in a regime newspaper.

"With deep feelings, I am following all that is happening in Panama, and I am ready to go there quickly in the face of an emergency," the colonel said in a letter addressed to the leader of a small pro-regime party, Luis Gaspar "Toty" Suarez.

The letter was personally delivered to Suarez by Seineldin's wife, Marta, who came to Panama the week of 22 October.

Diplomatic sources interpreted the presence of Seineldin's wife in Panama as the prelude to the arrival of the colonel, who might mediate in the crisis between Panama and the United States on behalf of Argentine President Carlos Menem.

During the recent summit of the American presidents held in Costa Rica on 27-28 October—during which Noriega was harshly condemned—Menem insisted that the initiatives in favor of the democratization of Panama "are not a way of aligning with the U.S. interests."

Seineldin had a close relationship with General Manuel Antonio Noriega, Panama's "strongman," during the 4 years he lived in Panama, first as a military attache of the Argentine Embassy and, later, as an outstanding adviser to the FDP.

He was decorated by Noriega with the Great Silver Cross of Division General Omar Torrijos Herrera in November 1988, a few days before he left for Argentina to lead a military rebellion.

Seineldin was the creator of the Benjamin Ruiz Officers School, which will graduate its first officers late in 1989. According to some sources, Seineldin also contributed toward the organization of the FDP Commando Groups Training School.

During the 2 years that he served as Noriega's adviser, the Catholic and ultra-conservative Argentine colonel had his own office, very close to Noriega's office, and he participated in most of the seminars for officers and noncommissioned officers organized by the FDP general staff.

Telephone Calls Banned on Commentary Programs

PA3010183489 Panama City LA ESTRELLA DE PANAMA in Spanish 30 Oct 89 p 1

[Notice from the National Directorate of Social Communication Media—no date given]

[Text] The National Directorate of Social Communication Media of the Government and Justice Ministry informs radio stations throughout the country that there continues to be a ban on airing telephone calls in radio commentary programs, including sports casts, as these are used for the purpose of disinformation, attacks, and slander.

However, the National Directorate of Social Communication Media has decided to permit the airing of strictly commercial programs presenting charity raffles, contests, and others.
Respectfully,
Luis Romero Villalobos
National Director, National Directorate of Social Communication Media of the Government and Justice Ministry

Editorial Advocates Seditious Workers Dismissal

PA2710195989 Panama City LA REPUBLICA in Spanish 25 Oct 89 p 4

[Editorial: "Dismissal of Seditious Social Security Workers"]

[Text] The attitude of many doctors who work for the Social Security Board does not live up to their Hippocratic Oath because, following political instructions, they ask for leaves of absence ranging from 6 to a year, even though they are well aware that the institution is economically unable to replace them given its internal crisis, which is a result of the difficult situation prevailing in the country.

Other doctors and Health Ministry workers react to the same seditious instructions by working without enthusiasm and engaging in anti-government propaganda, thus neglecting their work.

Consequently, the proposal presented during the second meeting of PRD [Democratic Revolutionary Party] doctors has been welcomed and unanimously approved by all the participants. The proposal states that the minister of health should not only dismiss seditious personnel working on the Social Security Board—an action he can sponsor as chairman of the board of directors—but also all the government employees who follow seditious orders that endanger the health of Panamanians seeking medical attention, and any other government official who obstructs the ministry's work with slow-down strikes.

The doctors also ask the minister of health to sponsor the organization of a CODEPADI [Panama Committee for the Defense of the Fatherland and Dignity] in every Ministry of Health installation.

The participants in this second national meeting of PRD doctors also stated their full and unconditional support for the decisions adopted by the Social Security Board of Directors—in accordance with the recently approved executive branch laws—regarding the dismissal or transfer of officials who have disrupted normal activities in the Ministry of Health installations.

These decisions are fitting because the nation cannot let anyone create obstacles in the health sector's activities, particularly when this will mostly affect the masses who arrive at the health centers in search of immediate medical attention, and find employees who do their job inadequately given the sabotage activities they carry out when following the orders issued by the enemies of the homeland.

Columnist Reports Possible Legislative Council

PA2710200989 Panama City MATUTINO in Spanish 26 Oct 89 p 4

[From the "Moyolandia" column by Harmodio Icaza: "Thursday's Notes"]

[Text] Very well-informed sources have confirmed to me that the National Legislative Council [Consejo Nacional de Legislacion] is a fact. They also told me that despite the fact that its members will be announced soon, they will not take office until 1 January 1990. The wolf is coming!

Editorial Praises Reporters' Patriotism

PA2810133789 Panama City MATUTINO in Spanish 27 Oct 89 p 5

["Fausto's Mailbox" column: "Nationalist Dedication of Baltazar"]

[Text] Baltazar Renan Aizpurua, my friend and colleague of several decades, a nationalist, a Basque, and a Libra—like me—has sent a message to the journalists of Latin America who are meeting in Panama to publicly denounce the genocidal aggression of which Panamanians, including traitors, are victims at the hands of the largest economic and military power in the West. The patriotism and dedication of Baltazar are known to all good Panamanians, who love this land and defend our territorial sovereignty and our legitimate right to occupy a rightful role among the concert of nations as a free, sovereign, and independent state. Baltazar Renan Aizpurua, like two other Libras—the author of this column and veteran hardened colleague Luis Restrepo Rosas—has never yielded in this generational struggle that must be continued beyond the year 2000, when the Yankee empire—like it or not—will have to return the part of our territory it has usurped since the signing of the shameful Hay-Buneau Varilla Treaty in 1903. I know of the veiled offers that this fiery, irreducibly nationalist colleague has received from those who want to turn us into a foreign colony. However, Baltazar Renan Aizpurua, like Luis Restrepo Rosas, Jorge Enrique Ramirez Rueda, Ricardo Lince, and other nationalist colleagues, will not put their pens up for rent or sale at public auction to the highest bidder. We are not peddlers of journalism, much less of patriotism.

Omar Torrijos said conditions cannot be imposed on the fatherland, and those of us who are involved in this battle to rescue our complete sovereignty have a single slogan: "Not one step backward!" We will not allow ourselves to be hypnotized by siren songs, and the incense burned for us by those who are attempting to coax us with promises of a better future for ourselves and our children as a Yankee colony certainly stinks.

Baltazar said a great truth that all Panamanians feel in our own flesh. "The last few American administrations have displayed criminal conduct by using the largest media sources as their favorite tools for deceiving the world with regard to what is happening in Panama; they have twisted facts, and slandered leaders of national liberation to gain international support for their plans of aggression against Panama.

The campaign of lies, accompanied by an economic siege to force the Panamanian people—tortured by hunger—to bend and surrender, is an effort to install a puppet government willing to sell the nation and allow the United States to maintain its presence in Panama beyond the year 2000.

"The strategy of a so-called 'low intensity war;' the freezing of funds that belong to the Panamanian people; a psychological war of invasion threats; the coming and going of tanks, helicopters, and armed airplanes through Panamanian territory and air space without previous warning, constitute a constant violation of the letter and spirit of the Torrijos-Carter treaties."

I hope this complaint, addressed to the Latin American reporters meeting in Panama, will not be lost. However, I know that in the capitalist world, true freedom of press does not exist. All that exists is the media owners' freedom to alter the facts and use disinformation to defend their selfish interests, which most of the time are intimately linked to the huge war assets the U.S. possesses.

As former President Manuel Solis Palma said, this disinformation goes to such extremes that it manages to affect the reporters who work for the disinforming media. It turns them—by imitation—into craftsmen of slander and lies, it contaminates them with a noxious virus of evil that cannot corrode their souls, because they lost their souls when they decided to sell their pens, or simply rent them—in most cases for worldly goods, but in a few cases for want of a firm personality, or out of cowardice.

The American empire, which is in the hands of a corrupt and genocidal administration, is an expert at buying and corrupting consciences. However, I trust in the nationalist feelings of the Latin American journalists who are visiting us today. Your people may have felt in their own skin the abuses perpetrated by the White House from the Rio Grande to Patagonia, in its unending effort to

immorally enrich the Americans' huge warmongering assets through the exploitation, blood, death, grief, and mourning of our people—and its own. All of this with the servile acceptance of fellow Panamanians who also feed on these excesses.

Onward, my friend Baltazar. You are not a candidate to be secretary general of the Journalists Union, which advises reporters to be neutral during these difficult times for the fatherland. Not a step backward! The die has been cast!

Bishop Emiliani Sends Letter on Closed Media

PA3110011689 Panama City PANORAMA CATOLICO in Spanish 29 Oct 89 p 1

[Letter sent to Government and Justice Minister Renato Pereira by Darien Bishop Msgr Romulo Emiliani, president of the Episcopal Media Commission]

[Text] Sambu, Darien, 18 October 1989
Government and Justice Minister Dr Renato Pereira, Panama City, Republic of Panama

Excellency:

I wish to take this opportunity to convey my greetings and at the same time express my great concern over the situation of the media in Panama. I would like to believe that the situation of emergency and crisis the country is enduring compels us not to sink further into aggressive arguments that will bring us to the brink of civil war. A divided and confronted press could somehow raise the spirit of readers in such a way that it could provoke futile clashes in which violence would generate more violence. We do not want that for the country.

However, in a country like ours, being able only to hear and read concepts with a biased view of reality impoverishes our critical spirit and ability to discern. This prevents people from freely electing a line of liberating action that generates progress. It also increases passivity and encourages dissatisfaction because people are prevented from fully knowing the truth. To know the truth only in part causes restlessness and anxiety. We wish to be told the truth purely and objectively.

Therefore, the Presidency of the Episcopal Commission once again requests that you reopen the closed media and allow information to flow freely, so that our people are enlightened with regard to the current situation. I cannot accept the argument that all newsmen who worked for the closed media have sold themselves to imperialism. I doubt that all these men and women journalists are at the service of foreign interests. I also doubt and do not believe that all newsmen working for the media that remains open have sold out to the regime and are subject to orders from above. I believe there are good and honest newsmen everywhere. Therefore, once again we request you to permit the publication of newspapers and the broadcast of news so other newsmen can also serve our people. Obviously, we request that all parties abide by the professional rules of ethics and that newsmen be penalized when they publish groundless reports with no evidence. I do not believe in slanderous media, nor in media that disinforms and distorts the truth our people should know. Therefore, I cannot support the attitude and conduct of newsmen from either side or political position who, to accomplish their objectives and using any available means, tarnish the prestige of citizens. "The end does not justify the means." Moral matters should always be taken into consideration by people who, like the newsmen, help shape the critical conscience of people.

I am making this request—this demand—because it is not fair for the people to continue as "listeners" of any information coming from various sources—of the most diverse nature—that is generated precisely because the source of information is repressed and because, since some of this information is true and the rest is false, the result is fear, aggressiveness, and other dangerous feelings.

If there was a free press subject to the law, and disinformers could be sued, regardless of what side they are on, the people would be able to more objectively judge what takes place in the country. We need a free press that defends the people's genuine interests. I believe that mature readers, provided with information from all parties involved in this conflict, would be able to participate more fully in the important decisions that we must make. In this way, the people would indeed be the promoters of their own development. Therefore, your excellency government and justice minister, we ask that the closed media be reopened.
Episcopal Media Commission; Msgr Romulo Emiliani, president

Argentina

President Menem Returns, Comments on Trip

PY3010132089 Buenos Aires TELAM in Spanish 1207 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 30 Oct (TELAM)—Upon returning to Argentina today, President Carlos Menem said that his meeting with Daniel Ortega in Nicaragua "should not be interpreted as any sort of mediation or anything like that. It was merely a goodwill effort to contribute to the success of Nicaragua's electoral process."

On 27 October Menem traveled to Costa Rica to attend the ceremonies marking the 100th anniversary of democracy in that Central American nation. On his way back to Argentina Menem stopped in Nicaragua where he met with Daniel Ortega to discuss the disbanding of the "contras" and a possible extension of the unilateral cessation of military operations by the Sandinist government.

At the Ezeiza International Airport Menem was asked if the U.S. Government would make a concrete request on this matter. Menem answered: "I do not see why the U.S. Government should do so directly. The United States is not in conflict with Nicaragua." He added: "If we do act as mediators, it will be with the self-styled 'contras.'"

Speaking about his meeting with President Bush, Menem said: "The subjects we discussed are known to all: foreign debt, drug trafficking, international terrorism—all current issues." He added: "It was a meaningful dialogue, which lasted 15 minutes· there was no time for more."

President Menem explained that his return to Buenos Aires was moved forward because "I had to return to Argentina and also because it was pointless for me to remain in Costa Rica or Nicaragua."

Menem added that he did not meet with Daniel Ortega's opposition in Nicaragua. He explained that he did meet with Violeta Chamorro, but in Costa Rica.

Asked whether the possible resignation of Finance Secretary Rodolfo Frigeri and Central Bank President Javier Gonzalez Fraga could be interpreted as a small crisis at the Economy Ministry, Menem answered: "Let us not use the word crisis. These developments are normal in an administration that has been taking truly spectacular steps, even if some people do not want to see it that way."

Menem concluded by saying: "Such developments, which do not necessarily amount to a crisis or even a small crisis, may crop up from time to time. In any case, I have to have a talk with both of them."

[Buenos Aires DYN in Spanish at 1114 GTM on 30 October carries a 50-word item that states that "President Carlos Menem arrived at the Ezeiza International Airport at 0850 local time from Costa Rica and Nicaragua."]

Nicaragua Asks for Country's Help With Contras

PY3010160089 Buenos Aires NOTICIAS ARGENTINAS in Spanish 1410 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Buenos Aires, 30 Oct (NA)—Argentine Foreign Minister Domingo Cavallo today announced that the Nicaraguan Government has asked the Argentine Government to "intercede with the other Central American countries and with anyone else that may have influence over the contras" to make them disband.

The foreign minister, who accompanied President Carlos Menem to Costa Rica and Nicaragua, said that "in order to make the Nicaraguan electoral process easier, Menem has answered that he will do everything he can to help bring peace to that region."

Cavallo added that in view of that "I will begin contacts with other foreign ministers to get an objective view of what we can do."

The foreign minister explained that during Menem's brief meeting with Daniel Ortega in Managua, the Argentine chief executive received "information about the continuing operations of the contras, during which 18 peasants were killed recently." He added that "unfortunately the resurgence of hostilities could jeopardize the electoral process" that is taking place in that Central American nation.

On 28 October Menem had expressed his disagreement with Nicaragua's decision to terminate the unilateral cease-fire. This decision had prompted an incident involving U.S. President George Bush, who accused the Nicaraguan president of behaving "like a wild animal at a party."

During his meeting with Menem, the Nicaraguan leader justified the decision by listing the violent actions that the contras have carried out and explained that for the cease-fire to be reinstated "the contras must disband in keeping with the decision reached by the Latin American presidents at the meeting in Tela (Honduras)."

Cavallo said that according to the report of the Argentine members of the OAS observation team, so far, "the electoral mechanisms set up for the 25 February 1990 elections are working well," and that there is "intense" political activity in Nicaragua.

Asked whether the Sandinists respect the opposition, Cavallo stated that Violeta Chamorro, during her meeting with Menem in Costa Rica, had stated that "there is discrimination in the allocation of official news media time, but in general she expressed satisfaction with the current process as compared to the previous ones."

Bolivia

* 1989 Mineral Exports Yield $200 Million

33482088b La Paz HOY in Spanish 7 Sep 89 p 5

[Text] Exports of minerals during the first half of 1989 brought in a sum in excess of $200 million, exceeding the income obtained between January and June of 1988 by something over 50 percent, according to the figures set forth in a Ministry of Mining and Metallurgy statistical report.

The sale of ores during the first half of the preceding fiscal period (1988) brought in income to the country in a total amount of $136,495,207, while in the comparable period this year, the total was $200,786,762.

Zinc and tin export operations showed significant recovery during this half of the year as compared to last year, but a substantial decline was seen in the operations pertaining to gold, the statistical report added.

The sale of 29,672 tons of zinc during the first 6 months of last year brought the country foreign exchange income in the amount of $27,800,340, while the marketing of 39,113 tons of this same ore during the first half of this fiscal period brought in $67,265,289.

Tin was the second most important export category, since operations involving 6,707 tons brought in income in the amount of $60,479,927, as compared to the 5,230 tons sold in 1988 (first half), which brought in only $35,879,775.

Another ore which saw major recovery during this half of the year was silver, of which 175,376 fine kg brought in $32,560,423, while in a 6-month period in 1988, the sale of 116,666 fine kg brought in a total of $24,394,671.

It was for gold that a significant decline in the indices of production, and, consequently, income, was seen. In the first half of the present fiscal period, a total of only 1,634 kg was sold in operations which brought in $20,566,361, while in 1988, sales came to 2,128 kg for this precious metal, bringing in $30,923,374.

Limited operations were pursued with lead, although there was a recovery during this half of the year as compared to 1988. This year something over 8,000 tons of the ore were sold, bringing in income of $5,381,695, while last year, the 5,000 tons sold brought in only $2,816,735.

The statistical report of the Ministry of Mining and Metallurgy indicated that there was a substantial recovery in the first half of this fiscal year, amounting to something over 200 million, first of all because of the success achieved in improving the production indices, and also because better prices were quoted on the international ore market.

Traffickers Use Gold Trade To Launder Money

PY2610205089 La Paz PRESENCIA in Spanish 21 Oct 89 p 1

[Text] Drug traffickers are becoming involved with gold mining activities in northeast Bolivia since some mafia groups have found that gold purchases and production are new ways to launder their "narcodollars." This was reported to PRESENCIA by the Antidrug Trafficking Intelligence Group [Grupo de Inteligencia Antidroga—GIAD].

According to the investigations carried out by this special group, which serves the Antinarcotics Council, the manufacturing of pure cocaine (cocaine hydrochloride), which is much more valuable than cocaine base, has been transferred to northeastern Bolivia.

The GIAD states that "a gold rush is taking place in the northern region of the country at the same time as drug traffickers are moving north to carry out their activities."

The situation has led to a large number of Brazilian and Peruvian citizens entering the country illegally to exploit the gold fields.

"Retail traders of cocaine—those who purchase from 1 to 20 kg of cocaine to sell in the gold-producing areas—arrived in the region at the same time as the gold "prospectors."

Gold prospectors are exchanging gold for cocaine because many of them have become addicted to the drug. Retail drug traffickers have discovered that gold miners, who work long and exhausting hours, are good clients.

Gold prospecting has thus become linked to drug trafficking. According to the GIAD, some gangs have even registered their gold-prospecting activities as a way to camouflage their illegal activities: "They buy gold to launder their dollars; the value of gold is stable. Some drug trafficking gangs have even purchased dredging machines and rafts to hide their activities."

The drug gangs have begun to replace gold dealers, using cocaine in grams or kilograms to purchase gold.

New Housing, Urban Affairs Minister Sworn In

PY2810121289 La Paz Radio Fides in Spanish 2330 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Excerpt] A few minutes ago President Jaime Paz Zamora swore in Deputy Elena Velasco Urresti as the new housing and urban affairs minister. The ceremony took place at Government House. [passage omitted]

Brazil

FRG Ratifies Nuclear Cooperation Agreement

PY3010214389 Sao Paulo O ESTADO DE SAO PAULO in Portuguese 29 Oct 89 p 18

[By Rubens Santos]

[Text] Brasilia—The contract with the FRG Government for the supply of equipment following the construction of the Angra II and Angra III nuclear plants will run for 5 more years. This information was confirmed yesterday in a letter to the media by Jurgen Bandel, minister counselor of the FRG Embassy in Brasilia. Brandel said that the continuation of the Brazilian-FRG nuclear agreement was ratified by the FRG parliament at the initiative of the government parties. The FRG cabinet has also ratified the agreement.

The contract was signed on 27 June 1975. It includes the possibility of being revoked on 18 November 1989 if not previously ratified. If no claim were made up to a year before the expiration date, the agreement would be maintained for another 5 years, which is the contractual term for renewal. Over the past few months, members of the FRG Green Party have tried to challenge the agreement. The group presented evidence that Brazil was not complying with some measures imposed by the International Atomic Energy Authority (IAEA), which establishes standards for nuclear cooperation exclusively for peaceful purposes.

* Afif Preferred by Middle-Class Voters

90ET0010a Sao Paulo VEJA in Portuguese 27 Sep 89 pp 48-54

[Text] For some time now, the campaign of Deputy Guilherme Afif Domingos has been becoming a rather pleasant process. At the beginning of the year, his party, the PL [Liberal Party], had a bench of 8 federal deputies; there are now 22. At the time he entered the presidential race, Guilherme Afif Domingos seemed destined to pursue the course of one of those phantom candidates in the political schedule, like the bearded cardiologist who ends his 30-second television spots by informing the viewers that his name is Eneas. Now Afif belongs to the group of candidates vying for third place, and according to the last Gallup Institute survey, he has even surpassed another man, also bearded, but well-known and famous, as well—Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, of the PT [Workers Party]. "I will compete with Leonel Brizola in the second round," the candidate enthuses. "Fernando Collor's campaign has already begun to spring leaks, and it is in that direction that I will move," he adds.

In terms of present size, Guilherme Afif Domingos is a little candidate. He trails the two leaders in the race by a considerable distance. He has less than half the support Leonel Brizola has rallied, and less than a sixth as much as Fernando Collor de Mello. At his current level, about 6 percent in the polls, he is assured of the votes of only 5 million individuals, in a contest in which 82 million will go to the polls. The truth, however, is that with the election 50 days away, Brizola's candidacy is marking time, Fernando Collor has lost a small handful of voters with each successive survey reported, and Guilherme Afif is the only contender who has seen a constant increase. In Minas Gerais, where 9 million voters live, making this state the second largest electoral college in the country, after Sao Paulo, Afif is running second, with Collor de Mello, of course, in first place. In Belo Horizonte, a city which has 1.2 million voters, he is in the lead, and he is also the leader in Brasilia.

A Wild Hope

Obviously, the mental picture of Guilherme Afif Domingos mounting the ramp at the Planalto Palace on 15 March 1990 to receive the presidential sash from Jose Sarney seems absurd—in the same class, for example, as imagining the victory of the tall and handsome businessman Joao Melao, of that same PL, in the contest for the prefect's post in Sao Paulo in 1988. Among the obstacles already identified in Afif's campaign, we might note that he is competing in the same stratum as another candidate from Sao Paulo, former deputy Paulo Maluf; he has a modest business structure; he is repelled by the large party machines in the country; and, to the poorer strata of the population who will have the final word on 15 November, Guilherme Afif Domingos is simply an unknown, if illustrious, name. The reality, however, is that from time to time, the outcome of an election proves to be one which has consistently been viewed as outlandish by those individuals who are presumably best able to predict the results—such as the intellectuals who devote themselves to the study of these results, and the media which produce tons of paper concerning each candidate. In the same city in which the liberal Joao Melao foundered with 5 percent of the votes in 1988, a result came about which in the conventional view was also absurd—the victory of Luiza Erundina. Afif is operating in 1989 in the hope of becoming an Erundina on the federal level.

"He is a whirlwind," says Rio Grande do Sul businessman Cesar Rogerio Valente, who is president of the National Federation of Trade Associations. Today Guilherme Afif Domingos is gaining strength with an elegant electorate—that made up of the Brazilian citizens with monthly incomes in excess of 1,000 new cruzados—those in the population sector where there is money for visiting the dentist, where travel is usually by automobile, and in which the people have university degrees. His fundraising dinners in Sao Paulo have been a success. At only two of them, held a month ago, ticket sales came to a total of 2 million new cruzados, or half a million dollars. The PL candidate is now the champion of events held in faculties where leftist slogans previously had little influence, for example the Faculties of Engineering and Agronomy, and he is supported by thousands of voters who already have stickers on the windshields of their cars displaying his slogan—"Faith in

Brazil!" "He has a very clear class profile," says sociologist Antonio Manoel Teixeira Mendes, who heads DataFolha, the research institute of the newspaper FOLHA DE SAO PAULO.

Although the original nucleus of his voting support was made up of small businessmen, and even owners of market stalls in Sao Paulo, Afif is a individual in Category A—one of those marvels of the Brazilian social pyramid wherein more or less well-paid wage earners keep company with citizens in the liberal professions and are called middle class, and even with individuals whose assets which can be measured in the millions of dollars. In this stratum, the PL boasts 20 percent of the voter preferences. He is in first place, ahead of Collor de Mello, who ranks second in this stratum, and Brizola, who ranks third. Being the favorite of the richer voters provides any candidate with undeniable advantages. Afif's campaign rallies, which have already been held at various locations in the country, are the liveliest, and they are also those where the largest proportion of the new automobiles are seen. The voters who appear at his electoral events are much better dressed than those who are seen on the platform with Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, for example. When he speaks, the audience always includes individuals capable of asking questions involving a complicated vocabulary, for example, about the public deficit and the foreign exchange crisis. These voters have provided Afif's campaign with a series of fine advertisements. On Wednesday of last week, for example, 90 some passengers flew via VASP [Sao Paulo Airline] from Recife to Sao Paulo. During Flight 163, one of the passengers decided to take a poll on the presidential election results. Everyone thought this was a very good idea, and in the end, the results were announced over the loudspeaker. The PL candidate came in first, with 26 votes, and Collor second, with 13.

Wrong Class

In fact, the great current difficulty in the campaign of Guilherme Afif Domingos lies elsewhere, and has to do with other voters. If the election of the presidential successor were a competition to find the politician favored by those who own more than one television set, who read newspapers, and who travel between Recife and Sao Paulo on the VASP jet flights, the PL candidate could go ahead and order his formal outfit for the inauguration ceremony. However, as it is a question of a contest in which the vote of each Brazilian citizen has exactly the same weight as that of any other, be he a businessman who sits behind a desk crafted by a British cabinetmaker, or the poor devil who gets up at 0400 hours to wait in line for his bus, it can be said that Afif's campaign is at a dramatic crossroads. His candidacy is strong in that sector of Brazil which is rich in money but poor in votes, and it is weak in that other part of the country which is poor in money but boasts millions in electoral market shares. Of each 100 voters who will go to the polls on 15 November, 80 fall within the stratum of the so-called poor and destitute, and fewer than 10 percent fall within Category A. Most successful in his effort to leave the group of anonymous candidates behind, Guilherme Afif Domingos is now facing a problem—being the favorite candidate of the wrong class. He is running first among the richest voters, but sixth among the poor, and seventh among the destitute, and these groups together account for no fewer than 63 million of the 82 million votes which will determine who the future president of the Republic will be.

"This is natural," the candidate himself says. "Until the present, I was an individual known only to the voters who read the newspapers and who pay more attention to political news. With the propaganda on television, however, this situation will change," he adds. Whether this operation will succeed or not is a question which will only be answered on 15 November. It is true, to a certain extent, that the electoral campaign on television has a powerful equalizing effect, and Guilherme Afif is well-equipped to advance in this sector. With a budget of $4 million and a beautifully organized production effort, his 10 minutes on the political schedule have become a very successful electoral indoctrination performance. Possessed of an appearance which is well-suited to videotape, Afif has scattered a notable complex of attention-getting gestures throughout his appearances, along with phrases which stick in the minds of the viewers and messages which ignore habitual campaign discourse and go direct to an easily remembered point. "Do you know where your guarantee fund is?" he asks. "It has vanished." Or again, attacking speculators in foodstuffs at a free fair, "They are robbing you."

In truth, Afif is much less interested in explaining phenomena than in making statements—by preference enveloped in language which facilitates the lives of those who hear him. For example, the candidate is very fond of talking about "revolution" in summarizing his programs. He has already said on television that if he is elected, he will sponsor three simultaneous revolutions. One is the green revolution, which would make Brazil the leading agricultural power in the world. Another is the educational revolution, which would be designed to guarantee a drastic improvement in the prevailing educational standards in the country. And finally, there is the urban revolution, designed to stimulate the growth of cities of medium size in order to alleviate the social pressure in the major urban centers.

List of Promises

There are times when the PL candidate's arsenal of promises sounds like the political utopia in a novel, as was the case last week when, seated facing a dairy cow of a Dutch breed, he announced that he would ensure the distribution of milk to the children of the country by means of a system of supply similar to that used at the service stations which supply vehicles with alcohol and gasoline. The truth is, moreover, that his presentations have the virtue of being extremely clear and effective. It would be practically impossible for anyone to fail to understand what he is saying. When, with a forceful gesture with his thumb and the palm of his hand, he

charged that the government "is stealing tax money," Guilherme Afif Domingos became the protagonist in one of the best moments in the daily offering of 2 hours and 20 minutes of electoral propaganda.

Last week, the PL candidate completed a schedule characteristic of a man who still has a great deal of common sense in the search for voters. He visited 10 cities in 5 days, racking up a total of 16,600 km traveled via TAM Lear jet. In Porto Alegre, he spoke at the National Convention of Shopkeepers, celebrating a preliminary survey made among those present. There, he received 52 percent of the votes. In that same locality, he added the support of two state deputies, Germano Bonow, of the PFL [Liberal Front Party], and Jose Francisco Sanchoteno, of the PMDB [Brazilian Democratic Movement Party], to his campaign, and also won the adherence of two of the most important businessmen in Rio Grande do Sul—Mario Eduardo Anspach, the owner of the Fripac group, one of the largest in the meat sector, and Ming Ling, a captain of industry of Chinese origin who has made a fortune in soybean oil. His visit to Florianopolis on Wednesday was even more successful.

He was welcomed at the Hercilio Luz Airport by a crowd of 1,000, including paid ward bosses and real voters, many of whom were already wearing the candidate's T-shirts and displaying PL stickers on their automobile windshields. In a caravan of more than 100 vehicles, Afif led a parade which emptied the commercial establishments and took over the center of the city. At the Florianopolis Aldermens' Chamber, the PL candidate pocketed one of the great acquisitions of his campaign. The PFL of Santa Catarina gave his candidacy its full support. There are 500 aldermen, 45 prefects, 6 state deputies, 2 federal deputies, and a senator. Jorge Bornhausen, who decided to leap off the Aureliano Chaves oxcart and join Afif's caravan. "In an initial survey, we found that 34 percent of the party members in the state already supported Afif," Bornhausen says. "Then we decided to make the unanimous choice to support him on the first round." In Florianopolis, the PL candidate also succeeded in enhancing his campaign with a roundup of a good portion of the local businessmen. "I am in this campaign body and soul," says Jarvez Gaidzinski, of the Eliane ceramics industry firm, who feeds the body and soul of the PL, as well—with a small Citation jet and a two-engine Xingu, among other things. "Of all the candidates, Afif is the only one with a statesman's aptitude," this businessman adds.

Having been successful with Category A, Afif Domingos also made an effort last week to get closer to those voters who are usually classified in terms of other letters of the alphabet—D and E. In Rio de Janeiro on Wednesday afternoon, Afif discarded his tie and jacket, and in shirt-sleeves, boarded a Brazil Central train at rush hour to share an experience which is a part of the daily life of millions of Brazilians—being transported like an animal from work to home. Two stations down the line, in Sao Cristovao, Afif got off. "Never have I been so squeezed," he commented. Then he improvised another scenario, taking the risk of consuming a whole portion of the grilled meat offered for sale at the station entrance. These were the normal hazards of a candidate's routine. Guilherme Afif Domingos, a well-off businessman, is a person accustomed to dining in five-star restaurants and to finishing off his meal with a liqueur and a Cuban cigar. In the free-for-all scramble for the 82 million votes on 15 November, the PL candidate downed the notorious cat meat which is the fare of poor Brazilians—and with no complaint.

At 46, Guilherme Afif Domingos is a socially agreeable individual who maintains a current stock of anecdotes with which to entertain his interlocutors. Married to his wife Silvia, who is 38, since 1970, he has four children—Silvia Helena, 18; Guilherme Afif Domingo Filho, 17; Amaldo, 15; and Maria Cecilia, 10. As a participant in the presidential race, Afif likes to have his family with him during his television appearances. In his case, this is not electoral affectation. He is one of those people who likes to get home early during the week in order to have dinner with his family. Even now that he is campaigning, he does not like to stay in hotels. Last week, even though he had to be in Porto Alegre in Tuesday and in Florianopolis the following day, he made a point of returning to Sao Paulo between the two stops, despite the fact that this meant traveling an additional distance of almost 2,000 km. His favorite relaxation on Saturdays is to gather the family to watch Gugu Liberato's program on SBT. On Sundays, he likes to watch "Domingao do Faustao" on TV Globo.

A Driving Passion

As the joint owner, with his three brothers, of Indiana, an insurance company of medium size, Afif is not one of the richest group of candidates in the presidential race, but his assets are such as to guarantee him a comfortable life. He lives in a spacious home with a swimming pool in Jardim Paulistano, one of the traditional residential quarters for the wealthy in Sao Paulo. Only three members of his family have drivers' licenses—Afif himself, his wife, and his older daughter. Nonetheless, he has a five-car garage. In addition to a collector's item—a 1963 American Cadillac, he owns a Parati, a Monza, an Uno, and a pickup truck. "If he had not become a politician, Guilherme would have been a truck driver," his wife Silvia says. "He is simply crazy about cars." Before the campaign began, Guilherme Afif took care of himself by means of strenuous exercise. He could peddle 180 km on his bicycle in a single day. In terms of age, conduct, and family background, Guilherme Afif Domingos is a graduate of the group which, 25 years ago, was called the "wayward youth." He liked to set off firecrackers in the classroom; he challenged other youths to races along the celebrated Augusta Street in a DKW with an offensive engine; and he was a great collector of girl friends. Nowadays, as a gray-haired father of a family, he avoids fried foods and fats in order to maintain his elegant figure, and in seeing to his grooming, he is a disciplined soldier. For 20 years, the same tailor has made his suits. He has a large collection of ties and likes to wear them in

accordance with the most refined fashion, matched with a handkerchief peeping from the upper pocket of his jacket. He never leaves the house without adding a dash of French cologne, and he wears only slip-on shoes which he has made to order.

To keep his hair in order, Guilherme Afif spends considerable time in front of his mirror with a brush every day, and he uses a blow-drier, not a towel, to dry it. Afif is also an individual who pays attention to many details, and he is capable of creating a domestic disturbance if he finds a shirt poorly ironed. In order to ensure fresh breath, the candidate carries a handful of mint lozenges in his pocket. To cover any eventuality, he keeps a stock of them, which is replenished by his aides, at his campaign headquarters in a large house near Ibirapuera Park. "He has been vain ever since he was an adolescent," his oldest brother, businessman Jorge Afif Domingos, who is 50, says.

A rising star in the presidential race, Guilherme Afif Domingos faces a serious challenge in the 1989 campaign. Since the age of 21, when he obtained a degree in business administration, he has pursued his career from an executive's chair in his family's insurance company. His inspiration has been one obvious concern—to earn money. In this he has been successful. He is credited, for example, with the installation of a pioneer data-processing program for the activities of the enterprise, even in the face of the opposition of his grandfather, the patriarch of the firm. Afif has always liked politics, but in the campaign to become President Jose Sarney's successor, he is one of that group of candidates who began their careers without passing the test of the polls. In 1979, he was made president of the Sao Paulo State Development Bank. In 1980, he was appointed secretary of agriculture by the governor at that time, Paulo Maluf. Two years later, he entered the first serious elector race of his lifetime, and lost. He was the vice-gubernatorial candidate on the slate of Reynaldo de Barros, defeated by Franco Montoro's PMDB. In 1986, Afif ran for a deputy's seat at the Constituent Assembly, and his career exploded. He obtained half a million votes, the second largest vote in the state that year, close behind his competitor in the presidential campaign, Luis Inacio Lula da Silva.

The Anti-Collor Movement

Having put behind him that more restrictive stage in the life of any candidate, that involving a constant effort to persuade his interlocutors to take his presidential ambitions seriously, Guilherme Afif Domingos plunged into the final campaign challenge as one of the group of competitors fighting for third place. They are praying for an earthquake to occur in the campaigns of Collor and Brizola which would ensure their advancement to the higher levels. It is so clear that in his current rise, he has stolen so many votes from Fernando Collor, that the PRN [National Reconstruction Party] candidate has now begun to frighten his Category A voters with his favorite bugaboo—Leonel Brizola. "I have told the people that voting for Afif or for Maluf is the best way of guaranteeing that Brizola will reach the second round," Fernando Collor de Mello says, whenever he can find an audience prepared to speculate about his likelihood of obtaining 50 percent plus one of the votes on 15 November and winning the election on the first round. The truth is, however, that Afif also is adding vitamins to his electoral chances with another type of individual—those citizens who do not want to hear of Brizola or Lula, but who do not want Collor either. In April, when the explosion of the PRN candidate in the electoral figures began, the group of competing candidates was flat on its back. This was the era of the upsurge against Brizola, who since 1986 had occupied first place on the list of the favorites to succeed Sarney. Four months later, Afif's rise foretold another phenomenon—the emergence of the first opposition to Collor in the presidential campaign.

As is true of absolutely all of the candidates who would like to succeed President Jose Sarney, Guilherme Afif Domingos as a candidate has some fictitious virtues, some hidden defects—and undeniable capabilities. One of the most strident vehicles of his campaign has been, for example, a stated commitment to benefit those Brazilians suffering from some type of physical disability. The problem here is that throughout the Constituent Assembly, during which various measures benefiting these individuals were approved, the PL candidate was not even present in the plenary sessions to vote for or against them. Now that he is launching a battle to win over the poorer strata of the population, Afif may face problems of a similar nature. In his history as a Constituent Assembly deputy, as a member of the body which approved the broadest package of social rights in Brazilian labor history since the CLT [Consolidated Labor Laws] of Getulio Vargas, Afif has been deemed by trade-union movement bodies to merit a grade of zero. Of the total of 559 Constituent Assembly deputies, this is true of only 30.

Competing as a member of that group of candidates who would like to present themselves to the voters as if nothing had happened, the truth is that Afif Domingos went into the campaign as the fullest representative of a utopia which the greater part of the Brazilian elite would only find praiseworthy in a foreign land—the prospect of capitalism free of state restriction, without a bureaucracy, and with a great deal of competition. This would also entail the elimination of departments which guarantee profits by decree, and the subsidies which create cheap money. Afif had already said this, even before these ideas became fashionable. He was already making speeches along these lines when he was president of the Sao Paulo Trade Association, and when he was elected a deputy in 1986, he pioneered the denounciation of the government's policy of extorting taxes. "What I want to create is capitalism for everyone," he says.

How far Afif can go constitutes an enigma typical of an electoral campaign like that this year, in which it is equally possible that acute changes may come about or that everything will remain as it is. It is a fact, in any

case, that there is a new pretender in the presidential contest now. And there are already individuals who are professionally accustomed to discerning great turbulence even before it occurs, and who rely on this possibility. In Minas Gerais, the clairvoyant Leila Alkmin, one of the most famous individuals in the country in her special field, says that her paranormal radar reports that Afif will be elected the new president of Brazil, although according to her antennae, this will happen after candidate Fernando Collor de Mello suffers a fatal attack in the coming months.

Chile

* Opposition, Conservatives Discuss Military Role

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[Round table discussion with General Luis Danus, retired, Luis Maira, Genaro Arriagada, Juan de Dios Carmona, and EL MERCURIO reporter Maria Angelica de Luigi: "The Armed Forces: A Delicate Matter"; date and place not indicated; first paragraph is EL MERCURIO introduction]

[Text] Some do not like the term "dialogue," much less "negotiation." They say that the proper word is "conversations," which ought to be held before 14 December and prior to "negotiations," which ought to be conducted afterwards.

Be that as it may, a great deal has been said and written since the president of Christian Democracy (DC), Andres Zaldivar, called for a dialogue with the Armed Forces and until General Pinochet responded with a strong speech at the Military School in which he set forth nine basic requirements.

Between the initial appeal and the subsequent response, politicians and military men have been "talking" in the form of several public declarations (call these contacts what you will).

What are we to make of what the two sides have said?

This is what EL MERCURIO has tried to do by inviting four political leaders, one of them a former military officer as well, to a round table discussion.

They are: General Luis Danus, retired, a former economy minister, former director of Odeplan [National Planning Office] and former intendant, besides being a potential candidate for senator in Punta Arenas on the RN-UDI [National Renewal-Independent Democratic Union] slate; Luis Maira, president of the PAIS [Broad Party of the Socialist Left] and candidate for senator from the Eighth Region; Genaro Arriagada, political scientist and vice president of Christian Democracy, and Juan de Dios Carmona, former defense minister under Frei and currently a member of the Political Commission of National Renewal.

The four invitees spoke in a considerate yet frank manner about the four basic points of the discussion: the handing over of domestic security to the Armed Forces; the controversial Amnesty Law; the even more controversial tenure for the commanders in chief, and the point of greatest disagreement: the role as guarantors of the constitution that existing law entrusts to the Armed Forces.

Remembering the Tacna Uprising

Gen Danus kicked things off by giving the military perspective on the word "guarantors," even recalling the "Tacna Regiment uprising" under the Frei administration....

[Danus] Several changes have been made in recent years to take the Armed Forces more into account. I lived through the period in which the institution was very much forgotten. All of you were very surprised by Gen Viaux' "Tacna Regiment uprising" because he really took over almost everything but the government, and everyone stood around staring and wondering: What's this fellow going to do now? I can say this because I was there. At that time, from the standpoint of their equipment and pay, the Armed Forces were being neglected in a way that hopefully will not be repeated. So that movement was not a military coup. It was a strike. And I'm not proud that it happened. But all of the students at the War Academy, except one, and all of the students at the Polytechnical Academy, who are the army's select, thinking people, between the ages of 30 and 40, from the rank of captain to major, withdrew simultaneously, as one, to the Tacna barracks, because the Armed Forces had a very serious problem.

That is history. The constitution now acknowledges a larger role for the Armed Forces, as a continuation of the major influence that we have had over these 16 years and because of the developments that we brought about in the economy and politics. This is why the Armed Forces have been given the status as "guarantors of the constitution." And what are they thereby being asked to do? When there is total misgovernment, when there is an extremely difficult situation in which the country is losing sight of its objectives, the Armed Forces have a legal, constitutional procedure, unlike what happened on 11 September, for saying: Gentlemen, let's meet in the National Security Council, because there's a serious problem here....

[Maira] I think, General, that the idea of guaranteeing the institutional order entails a political function, a political judgment. And I think that this involves the Armed Forces in a process that is very close to permanent deliberation, which I think is altogether inappropriate for the performance of its institutional tasks. The country has a series of institutions (the Constitutional Tribunal, the courts of justice, Congress' watchdog authority) that are more than adequate constitutional powers in every democratic system.

So I can tell you straightforwardly that if I become a congressman, I hope to see to it that the final sentence of

the second clause of Article 90, which gives you the role of guarantors of the constitution, is eliminated.

No Agreement

[Arriagada] I think that the word "guarantee" puts the Armed Forces above the constitution. And I think that that's very bad because it drags the Armed Forces constantly into political activity. When the Armed Forces are put above the constitution, major ills are created for society and for the military. A military that is involved in politics is a military that grows accustomed to deliberating and whose commands become divided; we've seen several examples of this in other Latin American countries.

What the Concertacion has proposed is in no way designed to diminish the role of the Armed Forces in society. We think that a democratic State must respect them. This is why we approved the section of the constitutional reforms that says that the standards for promotion and retirement will be included in the constitution. We want officers to have stability in their careers.

[Carmona] What I think is that the representatives of the opposition Concertacion have exaggerated what it really means for the Armed Forces to be a guarantee of the Republic's institutional order. What has been established here is that the Armed Forces will be one of the guarantors, because other bodies have been so designated too, such as the Constitutional Tribunal and the National Security Council, with the Judicial, the Executive and the Legislative branches taking part as well....

And why should the Armed Forces be guarantors of the institutional order? Gen Lanus reminded us here that there was a military strike, the Tacna Regiment incident. As guarantors, they are now responsible for making sure that such actions do not happen again within the military. Moreover, under Popular Unity, Chile saw the very forces that were inside the government fomenting subversion. So now it will be the Armed Forces that will make sure that such things do not happen again. [end of remarks]

Domestic Security

There was certainly no agreement on that point. Nor was there on the mission to safeguard domestic security that the constitution entrusts to the Armed Forces.

[Danus] Some feel that domestic security should not be a function of the Armed Forces and that they should be concerned only with external defense. But in today's world it is no longer possible to tell for sure which is the external enemy, the enemy who arrives at our borders from other countries, and which is the internal enemy, the one who also arrives from overseas but who infiltrates. Just as paratroopers and other regular forces operate in the rear guard, these other forces, duly trained overseas, operate in the interior and the rear guard of the country. So the dividing line between external war and a war of infiltration, or internal war, has practically vanished.

One example is the discovery of arms in the north, arms with enough firepower and in large enough amounts to do battle with several army battalions. So, defending the country against this threat is no longer a function of Investigations or the police, but of the Armed Forces.

[Carmona] I agree completely. Moreover, if we look outside Chile, we see cases, such as Colombia and El Salvador, in which veritable armies are battling the regular Armed Forces. The military there has had to ask for help from overseas to cope with the situation.

[Danus] This is why I say that it really is hard, in this day and age, to distinguish outside aggression from this other kind of aggression, which is by and large external as well but which takes place inside the country. So I think that domestic security ought to be in the hands of the Armed Forces, naturally as a shared task with Carabineros and Investigations.

[Arriagada] Well, it's obvious that no one is safe from terrorism—neither authoritarian governments nor democracies. But democracy has consistent policies for coping with terrorism, and these policies have shown themselves to be extraordinarily effective. These policies are based on the idea of tackling the situation with means that are commensurate with it. If the problem is minor, it is a matter for the police pursuant to a political decision. The serious problem occurs when there is a civil war, as in El Salvador, for example, which is not the case in Chile. In that situation it is obviously the function of the Armed Forces to defend the State and crush whoever seeks to take up arms against it. But a democracy has effective policies for dealing with such situations.

[Maira] I think that so-called domestic security should not be a permanent function of the Armed Forces, because it is a well organized State that ought to assure domestic coexistence on the basis of the legitimacy of the established government. My hypothesis is that the situation in Chile is in no way comparable to the one in countries like Colombia, El Salvador, or even Peru. El Salvador is a country in a clear-cut civil war. And those of us who study political theory know that civil war is the most serious malady of a state.

What I'm saying is that the potential for us to have such an internal armed conflict depends on the government's concept of law and order, on how careful it is to integrate all sectors, and on legislation that gives everyone opportunities to express themselves.

[Danus] True, the ideal would be to have no crime. In that case there would be no need for the police. But the police exists, just as the Armed Forces do, as a tool to prevent, through deterrence or direct action, the undesirable conduct of certain groups. So it is all well and good to hope, as Mr Maira does, that in the future we will live together in peace and that the Armed Forces won't have to be used for domestic security. But their function in this regard must not be taken away from them, just in

case, so that we do not reach the extremes of the countries that have been mentioned here.

[Maira] My impression is that at present we are seeing a restoration of democracy and the election of authorities by the sovereign will of the people, rather than threats to domestic security owing to the actual existence of certain armed organizations. This is going to enable us to soak up the military violence that exists at both ends of the political spectrum, both in the armed apparatuses of the right and in the military components of the left.

[Danus] Well, let's hope so. But I'm not so sure, because the fact is that it has not happened that way in Peru and elsewhere. In other words, the return to a democratic government (and this one clearly was not; we all know that it was not), the return to a democratic system is no guarantee that there will be no terrorist groups. Don't forget that a report to the American Embassy surmised, I don't know with what background information, that the arsenals found in the north were to be used against the next government, not this one.

Major or Minor Terrorism?

[EL MERCURIO] The disagreement seems to lie in how each of you assesses the terrorism that currently exists in Chile. Do you find it to be of major or minor importance?

[Danus] The arsenals in the north were unquestionably not of minor importance. Large parts of the army would be required to confront that amount and quality of weapons.

[Arriagada] The terrorist acts and crimes that have been committed are extraordinarily offensive to the country. But I think that politically speaking they are of very minor importance because they come from isolated groups that are not backed by anyone significant in this country. And in military terms, they are cruel escapades, repugnant crimes, but I don't think that they are far-reaching enough to worry an institution like the Chilean military.

[Carmona] I don't think that the duty of guaranteeing the domestic security of the State ought to be taken away from the military. If such powers are taken away from the Armed Forces, we're going to see a time when terrorism is going to get out of hand. Because who can respond to a low missile attack on a military installation? According to the theory that has been expressed here, it seems that it ought to be the police forces. And I find that absurd.

[Maira] I repeat that what we are seeing today, fortunately, is a path towards the restoration of democratic coexistence. And this will enable us to soak up a substantial part of the potential for violence that exists today. Genaro Arriagada has talked about the behavior of a legitimate government. In order for this government to be one, the State cannot conduct terrorist activities itself, on the pretext that there are armed groups. And I feel, very frankly, that the basic problem that has triggered this escalation of armed action has to do with certain security apparatuses that have often performed functions of State terrorism: the physical elimination of opposition leaders, attacks undertaken even outside Chile, in which serious investigations have established the responsibilities of Chilean security apparatuses, the disappearance of political prisoners....So, my proposal is that we put an end to this by dissolving security apparatuses that are alien to the country's history.

'They'll Win the War'

[Danus] I think that that would be very dangerous. And I will cite the example of the terrorist by the name of Roberto Nordenflycht. It is impossible to try and combat these well trained, well organized people just with a gray-green uniform, a helmet, and a card that says Lieutenant Zegers, as the deceased lieutenant did. Because as soldiers we are not trained to take action against undercover people like him. We are trained to take action against regular forces. In fact, if an adversary is not wearing insignias, is not wearing a uniform, he is regarded as an irregular and can be shot on the spot. The laws of war say so, and the Geneva Convention accepts it. So, these soldiers from the outside, these individuals, who are trained in universities or in special groups in the Soviet Union, come to fight against us, and we have to regard them as external enemies. And we can't be so naive in acting against them as to go around just like the traditional soldiers in the Napoleonic wars. We have to have other tools; we have to have an intelligence service, whether it is called the National Information Center or the Investigations Center, or whatever you like. But we have to have equivalent weapons, because otherwise these people will win the war on us....

[Maira] I don't know, general, what military training former Foreign Minister Orlando Letelier or college professor Fernando Ortiz had, and one of them was eliminated outside of Chile, and the other disappeared. I'm speaking out against this sort of State terrorism.

[Arriagada] We all agree that democracy is not a naive, disarmed political system. There can be no democracy without the police. But clearly a democratic police force is subject to a series of requirements that are not normal in an authoritarian regime. In a democracy the police are subject to legal norms that they cannot violate, to a very strict code of ethics, and to investigation by a free and independent press. They are also subject to the political accountability of an interior minister, an accountability that can be brought up before Congress. I agree with Gen Danus that an effective policy has to be pursued against the terrorist threat. And effective means putting an end to the threat. But it also means a democratic policy that squares with certain rules....

[Danus] From what Mr Maira has said about the crimes against Letelier and other people, it would seem as though I'm defending that. I want to make it clear that I am totally opposed to this having happened and to whoever did it, as I don't know who it was....

[Maira] I wasn't saying anything against you, general...I was just clarifying a principle that I think is valid in this discussion....

[Danus] I appreciate that, because I want to make it altogether clear that those crimes must not be tolerated. I am not, and the government must not be an accomplice to such things. These are simply things that must not be tolerated. But I repeat that there must be appropriate services that take proper action and are not naive....

[Carmona] I think that it is inappropriate to base an entire theory of State terrorism on the fact that there has been a response to terrorist acts or that the State has moved against acts of violence. There is no State terrorism here. There has been, plainly and simply, a defense, which may or may not be excessive, which may have involved some criminal acts that ought to be investigated, but it has been a defense....We must not forget that the entire military policy and the violence were around long before the military government and that some of the country's political forces came out publicly and resoundingly in favor of such violence and such a military policy, like genuine subversive forces against the democratic State. And previous governments had to put up with it....

Amnesty: Up for Discussion?

[EL MERCURIO] This issue bears directly on the 1978 Amnesty Law and the proposal to repeal it that the Concertacion has put forward. What chance is there of reaching an agreement on this point, on which opinion is so divided?

[Danus] We must not create problems where there are none. The Armed Forces are prepared to comply with the constitution and to return, eagerly, to their barracks, which they have practically never left. Because only a few of us have worked outside our normal functions, those of us who were ministers or who held some other posts. And most of them have gone back to their barracks too.

And after having run, in my judgment, a successful government, as is recognized from an economic standpoint in many parts of the world, these Armed Forces are handing over the government in a democratic manner. So after this, I think that it is altogether inappropriate to go around looking for special situations in which some people may have been involved and to go around looking for some sort of accusation to make. I think that it's creating a tempest in a teapot....

I am completely opposed to another Amnesty Law, because it would cause mistrust. The law that was enacted in 1978 is by now a judicial fact that expunges crimes on both sides. An attempt has been made to portray this law as a sort of salvation for the Armed Forces. But remember that in 1973, when I was assistant director of the Military School, 2nd Lieutenant Lakrampette was murdered by a Mexican fellow named Soza Gil, who benefited from the amnesty law. I haven't forgotten this. I recall that at this young man's funeral a woman relative of his shouted "Cowards, how can you put up with these things?" at us. Imagine what that must have meant to us as soldiers....Well, this fellow Soza Gil was also given amnesty....

Moreover, repealing it would not do anything in practice, because the statute of limitations has already run out on these crimes. Some say that investigations must be conducted so that we know whom to pardon. I don't think that is practical either. If someone had murdered a relative of mine, I wouldn't go looking for his killer so that I could later walk to church holding hands with him and say: I forgive you. We human beings aren't that kind. Personally, I would prefer not to know....

[Arriagada] This is one of the hardest issues to address. From the standpoint of justice, the demand to solve the crimes is unassailable. The idea that whoever commits a crime must be punished is also unassailable, as is the idea that crimes are committed by individuals and that an institution, be it the Christian Democratic Party, the Catholic Church, or the military, is not compromised by the fact that one of its members is involved. Consequently, it is an exaggeration to claim that solving these crimes entails an attack on the Armed Forces. This cannot be turned into a case against an institution of the Republic that has been associated with our entire history. The issue is that it is in the best interest of everyone, the army, the Armed Forces, the State, coexistence, to investigate this.

As Alfredo Etcheberry has so aptly put it, the Amnesty Law does not meet the exigencies of justice. Amnesty is nonjustice, but it has a practical basis, which goes like this: Look, in this State we've found that the very legitimate demand for justice has clashed with the very legitimate demand for stability. So, politics has to deal with these very tragic dilemmas and say: Look, let's talk it over, let's reason it out. What matters to us most at the moment? The argument is reasonable and must be made high-mindedly.

When the program of the Concertacion says that it will push for the repeal of the Amnesty Law, what it is saying is that it will do so in accordance with the constitution and the reforms that we have just approved. So no one can say that a law passed under these institutions is an attack by the opposition on the law or the constitution. [end of comment]

'The Military, Like Priests'

Gen Danus, retired, doubts that a repeal of the amnesty law would have any practical effect. Arriagada says it would.

[Danus] Actually, I think that the statute of limitations and amnesty are not moral, because if someone has committed murder, to tell him 20 years later that he is no longer responsible doesn't seem moral to me. But the statute of limitations and amnesty exist in the history of Roman Law. And they provide that when a crime has been committed more than 10 years before, a person cannot be tried for it, because, moreover, the principle of

the more lenient law is always applied. This is why I say that there are no practical effects and that calling for the repeal of this law is stirring things up and a bad thing for the country.

[EL MERCURIO] What is being proposed is that the future Congress will decide whether or not to repeal the law. And some doubt that the military will allow that....

[Danus] The military, like priests, like civilians, and like Christian Democrats and PPD [Party for Democracy] members, has to accept all of the laws that are enacted in the country.

[Maira] As for the issue of amnesty, I think that the first thing that the officers and personnel of the Armed Forces have to accept is that when we in the opposition voice a judgment on this, we are also looking out for the interest of the State and the prestige of the Armed Forces.

It is true that there are legal institutions, such as the statute of limitations, pardon, and amnesty, that aim more at security than justice. But to seek stability on certain issues in collective situations, for example, the mass disappearances of individuals, requires a degree of consensus in society at large, in order for a decision to be just and legitimate. What we are challenging about the 1978 Amnesty Law is that it was enacted unilaterally; it was not part of a consensus of the society. Amnesty is valid when all of the parties involved say, by common agreement: let's close this chapter, let's lower this curtain, let's all draw a cloak over this situation and forget about it.

But this was not the case here, and the amnesty seems like an arbitrary action.

Now then, whom are we hurting by calling for the repeal of the Amnesty Law? Certainly not the Armed Forces, because Article 90 of the constitution clearly states that the Armed Forces are made up of the army, the navy, and the air force and that the forces of order and public security consist only of the Carabineros and Investigations. Consequently, the behavior of two institutions that belong neither to the Armed Forces nor to the forces of order, Dina [National Intelligence Directorate] and the CNI [National Information Center], can hardly harm the Armed Forces. And the bulk of the charges are against them. Consequently, the fact that they may include men in uniform does not harm the Armed Forces as an institution.

Finally, I feel that we could hammer out an accord that would make this entire discussion quite unnecessary. In the opinion of most jurists, missing-person crimes are called permanent crimes. In other words, they stand until their actual existence has been established. So, maybe we simply just have to agree that the disappearances of political prisoners involve permanent crimes and do not come under the 1978 Amnesty Law. In that case there would be no need to annul or repeal that law.

[Danus] Look, as for the CNI and Dina, I would like to repeat that the sort of well trained terrorists who are operating in Chile do not show their faces; they don't go around with ID cards. So when people from the CNI run into them, and one of them dies, he immediately becomes a missing person. But he is a missing person who has died in combat, under the law of war. And many such people are unquestionably among the missing persons who are being sought.

[Maira] The cases to which I'm referring are all of unarmed civilians arrested at home at night, in most instances with many witnesses. They are social or political leaders who were not part of any armed apparatus.

[Danus] Look, it's very hard to tell who's who.

[Carmona] There is a great deal of talk about reconciliation in this country. And yet one of the foundations of such a reconciliation is not to stir up the things of the past, because if we do so, we are never going to have a reconciliation. That was precisely the purpose of the Amnesty Law, so much so that church spokesmen hailed it. So I think that calling for the repeal of a law that was enacted 11 years ago, as one plank in a platform, is not just stirring up the past but also scuttling any sort of reconciliation. It is an unfortunate example of our inability as Chileans to build a future on a more or less stable foundation. What guarantee of stability is there for any solution that Chilean society may come up with, if we start acting like this? I think that based on what Luis Maira said here, to the effect that some cases could be regarded as permanent crimes, the Amnesty Law does not have to be repealed, and matters could be discussed where they ought to be, in the courts....

[Danus] One thing is clear: the Armed Forces in government have not been accomplices to the crimes that are being talked about. I would remind you that of the four people who have been executed under this regime, two are from the Dina and two are Carabineros. So there has been no complicity....

Tenure

[EL MERCURIO] Let's get to the issue of tenure for the commanders in chief. What chances are there for an understanding, given the inflexible stands that have been taken on this point?

[Danus] Look, this point is as inflexible as the constitution. As a result of the semidemocratic activity that has gone on in recent years, since the consultation and the two plebiscites, we have come up with a constitution that may not please everyone completely. But it is the constitution. And tenure for the commanders in chief is in the constitution.

And if someone wants to amend it, he has to do so through constitutional mechanisms. In my opinion, this provision is somewhat useful. Having the Junta members, who have legislated in recent years and who have proceeded wisely, stay on is a symbol of security and tranquillity to me. I even think that the commanders are going to act as a sort of counterweight and are going to

strike a balance among the parties of the Concertacion, which range from one extreme to the other, when these parties face off with the president of the Republic.

[Arriagada] To me, the matter of tenure for the commanders in chief is altogether debatable. And on the basis of the 1980 Constitution, we are entitled to call for an amendment of this provision—first, because it is unusual, because it does not exist in any constitution in the world, and second, because it is one thing for a person to have the right to remain in a post, and another thing for it to be appropriate. In my judgment, in the best interests of the country, of the army, and of Gen Pinochet himself, he ought to waive this constitutional right, which we want to change.

[Danus] I would like to remind you that the constitutional provision refers to the four commanders in chief. I have spoken with several members of the Junta, whom I'm not going to name, but perhaps you can guess who they are. Some of them really do want to retire peacefully...and I think that if the country behaves properly and there is no extremism, some of these authorities are going to decide to leave. But if the opposite happens, if there are terrorist actions, and the country shows that it has not grown up enough to function in a democracy, these persons are going to be forced to remain in the posts that the constitution provides for them.

[Maira] The basic point that must be clarified is that the Armed Forces are not a branch of government. And to assure future coexistence, according to the tradition that has come down to us from Portales, they must remain permanent institutions of the nation, and not become a branch of government.

If we want the Armed Forces to return to their professional functions, the person who heads them must be an officer who has been identified with these professional tasks. And there are a great many of them. They should not be headed by the representative who has discharged political functions for 16 years and who, moreover, has had a strained relationship with the people who may be chosen to hold power.

There are two ways of resolving the matter. One is political, between the president of the Republic and Gen Pinochet, pursuant to the powers that the constitution grants the president. I imagine that Gen Pinochet, in the face of a president elected by all Chileans, will not ignore the argument that for the sake of the general interests of the nation it would be patriotic of him to leave his post. If this political scenario does not arise, then there is the legislative route....

[Carmona] The problem is that no one is bearing in mind what happened in Chile, why this military regime came to power, why so many years have passed, and why the Armed Forces have to play a suitable role in restoring a normal democracy. The Armed Forces can no longer play the sort of role they did in 1925.

I've read the platform of the Concertacion, which calls for cutting the presidential term from 8 to 4 years, thus giving the next presidency a transitional character. And at the end of these 4 years, each party will again be in a position to call for its own utopian programs...Under these conditions, in the view of the Concertacion itself, we are not going to enter into a period of stable, permanent government but rather a period of transition. Well then, in such a transition period it stands to reason that the forces that were active during the previous period are going to speak out too. Otherwise, we would be handing this matter over completely and totally to forces that want to undo practically everything that has been done so laboriously to rebuild Chile.

Under such conditions I can justify the provision that establishes tenure for the commanders in chief, this one time. It seems to me to be a real safeguard for all of the people who want the real Chile to be rebuilt.

[Danus] What I would remind everyone is that there have been three plebiscites and there is going to be an election again soon. It so happens that tenure for Gen Pinochet and the other three commanders in chief is a consequence of these negotiations, plebiscites, and democratic activities that have been going on. So, although I recognize the right to disagree with everything in the constitution, you too must recognize that the tenure provision is constitutional. And there will be a way for you to try and change it. And there will be another for us to try and prevent that. Because that is the democratic way.

Salvadoran Minister Arrives on 5-Day Visit

PY3010194789 Santiago Radio Chilena Network in Spanish 1600 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Salvadoran Foreign Affairs Minister Jose Manuel Pacas Castro said that his visit to Chile is a great opportunity to strengthen traditional friendship ties.

The Salvadoran minister, who has come on a 5-day official visit, was welcomed at the international airport by Foreign Minister Hernan Felipe Errazuriz.

Errazuriz said that it is always nice to receive a friend and especially a representative of a friendly nation that shares the same principles as Chile regarding freedom and the search for development.

Colombia

Coffee Delegation Leaves for U.S. Trade Talks

PA3110044089 Bogota Inravision Television Cadena 2 in Spanish 1800 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] The Colombian delegation that will renegotiate the coffee agreement and the trade agreements with the United States left today for the United States.

[Begin recording] [Reporter Jose Luis Ramirez] Colombia will present to U.S. industrialists a program to

[word indistinct] of Colombian products in the U.S. market and the reactivation of the coffee agreement.

[Unidentified speaker] [Words indistinct] to encourage the return of foreign capital to Colombia [words indistinct]. In addition, we will continue the talks that had started earlier.

[Ramirez] The government's economic team will try to get the United States to lift the restrictions on Colombia's leading export products. [End recording]

More Bombings Hit Bogota; Drug Mafias Blamed

PA3110044789 Paris AFP in Spanish 0414 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Bogota, 30 Oct (AFP)—A new rash of bombings, which have been attributed to terrorists paid by the drug mafias, rocked Bogota tonight. Police spokesmen reported an initial toll of a policeman and a criminal killed, two policemen wounded, and substantial property damage.

The most serious incident occurred on a busy avenue in northeastern Bogota when two individuals carrying a pistol and a rifle were stopped at a police checkpoint while trying to flee in a public bus.

While being taken to a small police station nearby, one of the individuals set off a grenade he was carrying near his chest. The terrorist died on the spot. A policeman, Eugenio Lozano, suffered serious injuries and died shortly afterward in a hospital. In addition, a sergeant and another policeman were seriously wounded.

Meanwhile, two branches of the privately-owned Banco de Bogota, located in the central and southern sectors of the city, were destroyed by explosions that also damaged stores located in the vicinity—but the authorities reported no casualties.

Another bomb caused considerable damage in a supermarket located west of the city, but there were no casualties there either.

The police also reported that Victor Linares, reportedly the security chief of Gonzalo Rodriguez Gacha, one of the Medellin Cartel leaders, was assassinated in western Bogota by gunmen riding in a vehicle. Linares had left the Modelo Jail barely 1 hour earlier after a judge ordered his release.

Kidnapped Cali Court Official Found Dead

PA3110040189 Bogota Radio Cadena Nacional in Spanish 1200 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Cali—The National Police officially reported today that the body of Rodrigo Quintero de la Pava, trial lawyer [substanciador] of the 4th Superior Court in Cali, has been found floating in the Cauca River. Quintero had been kidnapped on 26 October together with Guillermo Mena Lozano, process server of the 6th Penal Court of the same circuit.

A National Police spokesman said that Quintero's body was found a few hours ago floating in the waters of the Cauca River, Yumbo jurisdiction, western sector of Valle del Cauca Department. The authorities said that the remains of the court official had clear marks of torture.

Meanwhile, it has been reported that the security corps has launched several intensive operations to search for Mena, who was apparently kidnapped by the same criminals who kidnapped Quintero [words indistinct].

* Continuation of Urban Reform Urged

90ET0007b Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 29 Sep 89 p 5A

[Commentary by Guillermo Perry: "Dialogue of the Deaf"]

[Text] Recently an open forum was held in the Senate's Third Committee regarding the bill to modify the Urban Reform Law. Several issues were made very clear during the discussion.

Nine months have passed since the law was enacted, and the government has still not issued regulations to implement its key provisions. The housing associations, the community movement, and even the advisers to the president of the Republic have noted the urgent need to remedy this situation. Hundreds of thousands of potential beneficiaries are still waiting for regulations to be issued to implement the law so that their title problems can be solved and they can obtain public services that have been denied them because of that circumstance. That will enable many of them to move out of the high-risk areas where they now live, and will permit others to restructure their debts to the Central Mortgage Bank and the Territorial Credit Institute. Meanwhile, however, it is clear that the Development Ministry is only interested in satisfying the request of the savings and loan corporations that the low-income housing ceiling be lowered so that they can issue Constant-Value Savings and Loan Certificates (UPAC) once again to these segments of the market.

It has also become clear that low-income housing requires subsidies in Colombia, as in any other part of the world, whether the loans are in the form of UPACs or in pesos. What is not clear is whether the political will exists to provide the corresponding funds.

On the contrary, the government's bill proposes reducing the obligation that had been imposed on the Central Mortgage Bank and the Territorial Credit Institute to earmark a certain percentage of their funds to finance low-income housing, as had already been done in one of the few instances of regulations issued to implement the Urban Reform Law in the first of these institutions. It is well known that the narrow margin that the foreign debt service leaves for the national budget is aimed primarily at boosting defense and security spending and at financing the National Rehabilitation Plan. It is also well

known that economic officials prefer to allocate the margin of increase in the monetary budget to the consolidation of the financial sector and the socialization of private losses in this and other activities.

In turn, the director of the Savings and Loan Institute stated that he does not like the idea of forcing the corporations to set aside a certain proportion of their loans for low-income housing, much less the notion of subsidizing it. This would increase the cost of credit for upper-middle-class housing, he noted. It may be recalled that in January of this year the Monetary Board eliminated all of the obligations imposed on the corporations in this regard, and only restored them 4 months later with a reduction of the portfolio percentage from 25 to 10 percent (Resolution No. 33).

Under these circumstances, no one knows where the money will come from to subsidize low-income housing. Consequently, even if Congress lowers the ceilings and develops the new system of credit authorized by Urban Reform for low-income housing, most likely the Barco administration will end up back in square one in terms of low-income housing.

In short, it is obvious that on this matter, as on others, there has been a real dialogue of the deaf and a clash between the government's social policy and its economic policy. The latter leans more toward the defense of certain private interests than to that of the common good.

* Drop in Construction, Credit Seen

90ET0007a Bogota EL TIEMPO in Spanish 30 Sep 89 p 8B

[Unattributed article: "Construction Continues To Fall"]

[Text] The construction sector is still undergoing a downturn, even though there has been an increase in the credit extended by savings and loans corporations to this sector.

The Colombian Chamber of Construction (Camacol) discussed the state of the economy in its latest report and stated that the main problems are still inflation, the deterioration of commerce and industry, the decline in coffee prices, and the slump in construction.

This situation is aggravating the government's financial plight and preventing the nation from adequately servicing the foreign debt. Thus, the Colombian economy "is walking on the razor's edge. The balance of payments is beginning to show capital flight, income through the 'side window' is falling, and black market dollars are on the increase."

The president of Camacol, Gabriel Jaime Giraldo, revealed that many businessmen are putting off investments and projects because of the uncertainty that prevails in the nation. He predicted a worse recession.

Fear of Investing

Although the 9.81-percent decline in construction activity recorded in the country's 12 largest cities through August reflects some recovery since the April-May-June period, it represents a deterioration since July, when the fall was 8.5 percent.

The situation is explained by problems in supply and demand, corporations' fear of investing in public housing because of urban reform, and attacks.

Construction officials say that demand is slack; developers of residential tracts are resorting to raffles, offering cars, apartments, and other attractive items to lure prospective buyers to make real estate purchases.

This is how the construction sector continues its declining trend. The negative figures as of August for the major cities are: Bogota, 7.38 percent; Medellin, 31.9 percent; and Cali, 7.07 percent. The city most seriously affected is Pasto, with a 70.22-percent drop. It is followed by Cucuta, 48.23 percent; Armenia, 20.80 percent; and Cartagena, 11.41 percent.

The positive figures are found in Manizales, 136.34 percent; Barranquilla, 72.72 percent; Pererira, 39.16 percent; and Bucaramanga, 28.80 percent.

In contrast, savings and loan corporations did well during the period in question: They received 199.396 billion pesos in new deposits as of August, and their portfolios regained 200 billion pesos in value. They approved new loans amounting to 147 billion pesos, which is more than the total for all of 1988.

Construction costs, in turn, have continued the upward spiral, with an increase of 23.08 percent through August in the 10 principal cities in the country. Inflation amounted to 18.56 percent during that period. This is one of the main obstacles to achieving a dynamic housing market, says Camacol.

Ecuador

National Liberation Movement Legally Recognized

PA3010204389 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0716 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Quito, 27 Oct (EFE)—Ecuador's Supreme Electoral Tribunal legally recognized the National Liberation Movement (LN) as a political party today. It is the fourth leftist group to get legal status.

The new group broke away from the Broad Front of the Left (FADI), also legally recognized, which maintains a parliamentary agreement with the Social Democrats and the Christian Democrats.

LN leader Alfredo Castillo said that in this way his party, made up of Christians not Marxists, will participate in the 1990 elections for seats in the Ecuadoran parliament.

In addition to LN and FADI, the Maoist pro-Albanian group Democratic People's Movement (MPD) and the Socialist Party have been given legal recognition.

Paraguay

Colorado Party Leader Denies USIS Suggestion

PY3010165689 Asuncion LA OPINION in Spanish 27 Oct 89 p 4, 5

[Text] "What some international news agencies said yesterday about U.S. President Bush's contribution to changes in Paraguay is exaggerated—I would even say false," said Colorado Party Vice President Edgar Insfran in the course of an interview.

The information released by USIS (U.S. Information Service) "seems to imply that Mr Bush has contributed to changes in Paraguay since the 3 February coup. It is not so. No one contributed anything to the San Blas rectifying movement [3 February coup]. The change toward a democratic process is the result of Paraguayan civic spirit and the courage of the Armed Forces, which were commanded during the coup that overthrew Stroessner by General Andres Rodriguez," Insfran added.

"I think the importance placed on some U.S. aid is quite exaggerated. If this aid has helped some cultural institution that always worked for and practiced democracy, it is something different. The aid never reached the Army or the Colorado Party "traditionalists," who were behind the February renewal. The idea of freedom has never been subsidized with foreign funds. We are not a little republic that can be enticed by money or inspired by any foreign power," Insfran stressed.

ROC Grants $20 Million Grant-in-Aid Loan

PY3010195589 Asuncion ABC COLOR in Spanish 28 Oct 89 p 13

[Excerpt] Industry and Commerce Minister Antonio Zuccolillo Moscarda reported yesterday that the Republic of China [ROC] has granted a $20 million grant-in-aid loan to our country within the framework of an agricultural cooperation agreement between our two countries.

According to the minister this loan, which is actually a donation from the ROC, will be used to develop rural settlements, each comprising 100 agricultural centers for 100 to 120 families each. In other words, about 12,000 families [as published] will benefit from this project, the minister noted.

The industry and commerce minister and Industry Under Secretary Dr Ubaldo Scavone recently visited the ROC. Speaking of the $20 million loan, the minister yesterday said: "That was the most important issue we discussed." Zuccolillo made these remarks after reporting to President Andres Rodriguez and the Council of Ministers about his negotiations in that Asian country. [Passage omitted]

Peru

Minister Cited on Election Security, Curfew

PY2810120689 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Excerpts] Interior Minister Agustin Mantilla has rejected the idea of establishing a curfew and has said that the Armed Forces can guarantee institutional order. The minister gave an exclusive interview to our program in which he said that security has been increased for the 12 November municipal and regional elections and that terrorism, even though it has been increasing lately, will not prevent the elections from taking place.

[Begin recording] [Reporter] Mr Mantilla, the municipal and regional elections are just around the corner. What security measures will the government implement to guarantee safety at the ballot box?

[Mantilla] So far we have adopted a series of measures to stop the killing of mayoral and city council candidates. I hope the measures will be effective in definitively stemming the tide of attacks and asassinations of candidates. Police are currently providing personal and home protection to all candidates for provincial and district city hall positions in urban areas. This is a major effort. Police will temporarily drop some services to fulfill their new duties because the elections are of utmost importance for the country. [passage omitted]

[Reporter] Is the government contemplating the imposition of a curfew?

[Mantilla] We are not considering imposing any curfew at this time. The defence minister and I have not mentioned it. We have heard some personal appeals in Congress, but so far the government has not made a decision on the matter. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Interpol Commander Killed by Terrorists in Lima

PY3110021389 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Interpol Commander Nelson Guia Gonzalez was murdered this morning by terrorists as he was taking his young daughter to school. The attack took place on the 23d block of Crespo Castillo Street in Mirones Bajo District.

Four terrorists intercepted Commander Nelson Guia Gonzalez early this morning as he was taking his daughter Liliana to school. A bullet in the temple killed him instantly.

Reportage on Shining Path Guerrilla Activities

Army Kills 27 Guerrillas

PY3010172489 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0220 GMT 29 Oct 89

[Text] Ayacucho (Peru), 28 Oct (EFE)—The political-military command of the emergency zone of the Andean Department of Ayacucho reported today that a total of 27 guerrillas of the Maoist "Shining Path" were killed in a clash with a military patrol.

According to a communique from the political-military command, the clash occurred on 27 October in Pariajasa, near the town of San Miguel in La Mar Province, Ayacucho Department, and 27 "subversive criminals" were killed.

According to the communique, a sergeant and a corporal of the military patrol were injured. The communique adds that the terrorists killed were compelling the La Mar Province farmers to join their ranks.

The communique adds that the military men seized weapons and subversive propaganda from the subversives.

Ayacucho has suffered a violent wave of attacks and killings by the Shining Path terrorists during the past 48 hours.

Early this morning during the curfew effective in Ayacucho, the terrorists bombed the facilities of the University of San Cristobal, causing extremely serious property damage.

More than 20 bombs destroyed the recently-installed printing shop, the dining room, and the university's administrative office. A professor, identified as Amado Inostroza, and a 22-year-old student were killed during the attack.

On 27 October, the terrorists detonated a car bomb near the national police barracks, injuring 8 persons. In another attack on the technical police headquarters, an officer and a noncommissioned offer were killed.

The terrorist pressure is in keeping with the Shining Path's announced purpose of boycotting the municipal elections of 12 November 1989.

About 350 persons have been killed in Peru in October 1989 as a result of the political violence.

More than 15,000 persons have been killed as a result of political violence since May 1980, when the subversive "Shining Path" movement began to operate.

Terrorists Derail Train

PY2610214089 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0529 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] Lima, 25 Oct (EFE)—According to media reports two people were wounded and a train was derailed today in terrorist attacks in the Junin and Ayacucho Departments.

A cargo train carrying minerals was derailed when a bomb exploded at km 195 on the railway line between Lima and Oroya, Junin Department, in the center of Peru, according to "Radio Programas del Peru."

The source said that the explosion injured the conductor, Timoteo Recalde, and damaged the locomotive and five cars. Some 30 meters of track was also damaged.

The train belongs to the National Railway Enterprise (ENAFERPERU), which—according to the source—has suspended its passenger and cargo services between Lima and Oroya, 189 km east of Lima, until the tracks are repaired.

Police sources in Ayacucho, 575 km southeast of Lima, reported today that a security police corporal was seriously wounded by four alleged members of the Shining Path group who fired at him as he was standing guard at a state organization building.

Corporal Miguel Angel Aguirre, 24, was attacked at the people's cooperative in downtown Ayacucho. The terrorists, who were carrying stolen automatic rifles, fled after the attack.

Attacks, Killings Reported

PY2810234289 Madrid EFE in Spanish 2219 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Excerpt] Lima, 28 Oct (EFE)—The police have reported that Maoist Shining Path guerrillas have attacked the headquarters of the Peruvian Technical Police in Ayacucho. Two civilians were wounded during the attack. One was a professor who died of his wounds today.

Despite the curfew in force in Ayacucho, before dawn today the Shining Path attacked the student residence area at the Huacamanga University, causing considerable damage to the dining hall, the laboratory, and other buildings.

In addition, today's newspapers reported that a construction businessman was killed in the city of Huancayo, 415 km southeast of Lima. German Guzman was shot to death in the streets of Huancayo last night, presumably by Shining Path personnel.

Yesterday four people, among them a mayoral candidate and local judge, were assassinated in Huatasani, Puno Department, bordering on Bolivia, by a 40-person Shining Path column. Also yesterday the mayor of Amarilis, in the northern department of Huanuco, was shot and wounded, presumably by subversives. [passage omitted]

OLADE Concerned Over Environmental Problems

PY2810210089 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0342 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Lima, 27 Oct (EFE)—Colombian Gabriel Sanchez Sierra, executive secretary of OLADE [Latin American Energy Organization], stated today in Lima that Latin

American countries are "worried" about the environment problem and that the industrialized countries must cooperate in restoring the ecological balance.

Most Latin American countries voice their "concern" because so far the multinational companies have not wanted to share their responsibility in the deterioration of the environment.

Sanchez spoke to the press at the end of the 20th OLADE meeting. He said that environment problems will be discussed thoroughly during the next OLADE meeting to be held in November 1990 in Rio de Janeiro.

He said: "Latin America is worried and extremely concerned about the progressive deterioration of the environment, and Latin America regrets the fact that the industrialized countries do not want to adopt the same position."

Sanchez said that, on behalf of "OLADE," he brought up the subject at the meeting and that a consensus was reached that ecological recovery must be shared proportionally with those who have damaged the environment through the generation of coal gas, coal-fired power plants, and other toxic elements.

Sanchez reported that the foreign debt of state enterprises in the energy sector has risen to $80 billion, and that the debt of the electric sector amounts to $50 billion.

He added that it was decided at the meeting that giving help to a country whose energy facilities have been affected by acts of terrorism or subversion will depend on the "good will" of individual member countries.

Sanchez said that countries facing problems due to political violence, especially due to the blowing up of oil or gas pipelines, or hydroelectricity lines, should inform "OLADE," and this organization will communicate the problem to member countries. "Those willing to react can do so in accordance with their own good will," he said.

OLADE, Petroperu Sign Technical Agreement

PY2810125989 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Summary] The Latin American Energy Organization, OLADE, and the State Petroleum Agency, Petroperu, have signed a 2-year technical cooperation agreement by which Petroperu will train and offer technical advice to experts from other regional oil companies.

The agreement was signed at a hotel in dowthown Lima at a ceremony attended by Energy Vice Minister Luis Sanpuero, OLADE Executive Secretary Gabriel Sanchez, and Petroperu President Daniel Nunez.

Purchase of Venezuelan Generators Announced

PY2810131989 Lima Television Peruana in Spanish 0100 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Summary] Energy and Mines Minister Mario Samane Boggio has reported that Peru has signed an agreement to buy secondhand electric generators from Venezuela. According to the minister, the Air Force will check and repair the generators, which will arrive in Peru within the next 2 months.

Uruguay

24-Hour General Strike Ends Without Incident

PY2710180889 Madrid EFE in Spanish 0211 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Montevideo, 26 Oct (EFE)—The 24-hour general strike called by the main Uruguayan union organization ended today with no incidents and with fairly good participation by the people.

This was the 2d strike in a month and the 10th since 1 March 1985 when President Julio Maria Sanguinetti assumed the presidency after 12 years of dictatorship.

This strike was called in solidarity with the teachers who have been on an indefinite strike for 4 weeks.

The strike began at 1300 on Wednesday, and it was quite noticeable because of the closing of both public and private banks, public offices, and the nonpublication of newspapers on 26 Oct.

A large number of bus and taxi drivers carried out their services normally. In the capital, garbage collection by the private company in charge of these activities was carried out normally.

On Wednesday, shortly after the beginning of the general strike, some 2,000 people gathered on 18 July Avenue in Montevideo, despite the prohibition by the Interior Ministry to stage rallies on that avenue. The people later dispersed without incident. Some 100 anti-riot police watched the rally.

Labor Minister Luis Brezzo called this strike "political," and added that the latest strikes have been staged "with electoral objectives, hoping to attract more votes and to create a climate of disappointment among the people."

The minister's remarks were a clear attack on the Marxist left that controls most Uruguayan unions.

On 26 November 1989 Uruguayans will elect a new government from among the candidates of the two major traditional parties: the ruling Colorado Party and the main opposition Blanco Party.

Since the 1971 electoral coalition, the left has obtained 21 percent of all Uruguayan votes.

Journalists on Soviet Satellite-Tracking Vessel

PY2710014089 Montevideo LA HORA POPULAR in Spanish 22 Oct 89 pp 20, 21

[By Alejandro Michelena]

[Excerpts] A very peculiar vessel, the "Cosmonaut Vladislav Volkov," anchored at the port of Montevideo a few days ago. It is not designed for maritime functions, but rather for astronautics. Although it carries out its duties in the middle of the ocean—more specifically, in the southern part of the Atlantic Ocean, near our country—the vessel's mission is to maintain communications with the USSR's "Mir" and "Molnia" satellites. There are 11 Soviet vessels constantly sailing the oceans on this duty, which consists of establishing a communications bridge between Soviet space stations and the earth. These vessels complete this bridge whenever the space stations' and satellites' orbits carry them over huge expanses of water and their signals cannot be received in Soviet territory.

To learn the details of the vessel's work, LA HORA POPULAR visited Pier 8 at the port of Montevideo, where the "Cosmonaut Vladislav Volkov" is anchored. [passage omitted]

The basic system of the communications chain works like this: The "Mir" satellite sends signals to the "Volkov;" the "Volkov" transmits these signals to the "Molnia," which then transmits the information directly to the USSR.

The vessel's experts whom we spoke with reported that there are two similar vessels in the Atlantic Ocean: the "Yuri Gagarin," which is sailing in the north Atlantic, and the "Volkov," which sails in the south. These vessels sail the area over which the satellites cruise and point their powerful antennas up at them.

The "Volkov" always sails in this part of the ocean and meets with the "Gagarin" once a year. The "Volkov" sails for a month and then anchors at a port. In addition to their specific tasks, these vessels contribute to rescue operations by sending emergency messages through the satellites.

The "Vladislav Volkov" has been sailing in the Atlantic for 2 years, but this is the first time it has anchored in Montevideo. (Some years ago, the "Yuri Gagarin" visited our port).

We asked the patient ship's second engineer—who ended up leading us through the ship's key sectors—about the system that keeps the antennas in the right position when the ship is sailing through rough waters.

We were told that the antennas are fitted with an accurate stabilization system that prevents any interference and provides for any contingency.

There are 130 people aboard the "Volkov;" 52 crew members, inlcuding 7 stewardesses, and 72 scientists (who are in charge of maintaining communications with the orbiting stations), including 2 female engineers.

We could see three types of antennas on the deck: The first type receives the signals from "Mir," the second transmits messages to "Molnia," and the third is used for conversations with the astronauts.

The "Volkov" is fitted with a complex laboratory used to process "telemetric" information. The ship also has to control the operations of some devices on the satellites.

The signals are transformed into graphics, and the lines are interpreted according to a "code."

The laboratory equipment is from the early 1960's but it is still appropriate for the job, the second engineer told us. [passage omitted]

Venezuela

Soldiers Killed Along Colombian Border

PA2710161589 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1409 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Caracas, 27 Oct (DPA) — The attack in which five Venezuelan soldiers were killed at the border with Colombia has been blamed, according to some reports, on Colombian guerrillas and drug trafficking gangs operating in Colombia.

Venezuelan President Carlos Andres Perez blamed Colombian drug trafficking gangs for the attack—in which five guards were killed—perpetrated on 26 October in the border State of Apure against a National Guard patrol in the area.

Referring last night to the drug trafficking gangs, Perez said this is "a provocation for Venezuela because they are trying to extend their claws to our country."

However, Jorge Romero, governor of the border state of Tachira, which borders the state of Apure, maintained this was an "attack with very powerful explosives" perpetrated by "members of the Colombian guerrillas, presumably from the Army of National Liberation Army, against a National Guard jeep."

According to Romero, it has been determined during the preliminary investigations that the explosives that killed the five soldiers were buried in a road near Cutufi and set off by remote control as the military vehicle passed by.

Last night, the Defense Ministry ordered the arrest of five alleged Colombian guerrillas, whom it blamed for the attack. However, the attackers reportedly crossed the border into Colombia.

ELN Claims Responsibility

PA3010154689 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 1504 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Caracas, 30 Oct (DPA)—Colombia's Army of National Liberation (ELN) guerrillas has claimed responsibility for the attack in which five Venezuelan soldiers were killed in the border area between the two countries. The guerrillas have announced they will continue harassing the Venezuelan military forces.

In an official communique delivered to the press in the city of San Cristobal, Venezuela, the ELN "Domingo Lain Saenz Front" said that on 26 October it blew up a jeep in Apure State's border area with 20 kgs of dynamite. Five members of the Venezuelan National Guard's border patrol, which was covering the Cutufi area, were killed.

The guerrillas' message states the National Guard jeep was blown up by "chance" because the Army was the target of the attack.

The ELN said it will continue attacking Venezuelan soldiers to wipe out the military presence in the border area, adding that this attack was carried out in response to the death of a guerrilla commander near the town of El Amparo, on 29 October 1988. On that occasion, 14 Venezuelan fishermen were killed by Venezuelan security forces in an incident that has not been clarified by the courts.

Grenade Explodes at Merida Court House

PA3010164689 Caracas Venezolana de Television Canal 8 in Spanish 1600 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] The activities of the penal courtroom in Merida have been temporarily suspended because a grenade exploded and damaged the building where the courts are located. The suspension is to continue until full security measures are taken. According to our correspondent Alfredo Aguilar, the grenade exploded sometime between 0100 and 0300, and officials have already started an investigation to find the persons responsible for this action.

It has also been reported that the local police occupied the Febres Cordero Avenue as a preventive measure to confront the disturbances that have been announced by students in retaliation for the arrest of several Los Andes University students.

French Guiana

Arianne Rocket Launch Proceeds on Schedule

PA2810001089 Hamburg DPA in Spanish 2323 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Kourou, 27 Oct (DPA)—The European Arianne rocket was launched on schedule today from the European Kourou Space Center in French Guiana at 0005 on 28 October, Central European time.

The rocket is to launch the Intelsat-VI international communications satellite into a geostationary orbit.

The nonmilitary satellite, which weighs a little over 4 tons, is the heaviest satellite and with the greatest communications capacity of any satellite ever placed in space.

Reports Confirm Launch Success

PA2810173789 Madrid EFE in Spanish 1458 GMT 28 Oct 89

[Text] Kourou (French Guiana), 28 Oct (EFE)—The European Ariane Rocket-4 launched into in orbit today with total precision the largest civilian telecommunications satellite built thus far, the first of a new series for the international Intelsat organization.

Jean Michel Desobeau, director of the commercial mission of the Ariane Space Center, said that the rocket placed in perfect orbit Intelsat-6, which is following a geostationary transference orbit before acquiring a definite orbit. Desobeau confirmed that all the satellite's operations are developing normally and that the latest technical reports have confirmed the successful launch.

Intelsat-6, which will reach its definite geostationary orbit in 3 weeks, will start to operate on 7 April, according to the plan. The "perfect" launch and placement in orbit by the Arianne-4 were highlighted by all those responsible officials of Intelsat and the Ariane Space Center in Kourou.

"This success confirms Intelsat's wise decision to choose the European rocket," Frederick Ormsby, director of the Intersat mission, based in Washington, declared.

Charles Bigot, director of Ariane Space, said that "the success of this mission demonstrates the perfect adaptation of the Ariane-4 rocket in the market of commercial launches."

"We are quite proud to see this new stage achieved with the international Intelsat organization, our first and most faithful client, for whom we have already launched five satellites of the Intelsat-5 type and for whom we must launch five more in the coming years," he added.

The next Ariane-4 launch is scheduled for 13 December, when the European rocket will place into orbit two Japanese telecolmmunications satellites, the Superbird-B and the BS-2X. Also, Ariane Space Center currently has a contract to launch 32 satellites for a total of $2.14 billion.

For the past 2 years, the Ariane Space Center has conducted an average of eight to nine launches each year.

The Ariane launch, which took place at 2305 GMT on 27 October, placed in orbit Intelsat-6, which weighed 4.215 kg, 22 minutes after takeoff.

The Ariane Space Center is developing installations here for the future launch of Ariane-5, which will start to operate in 1996.

Ariane-5, which will have the capacity to launch up to 6,000 kg (while Ariane-4 can handle a little over 4.000 kg), contemplates a dual objective: To launch and place in orbit the "new generations" of satellites and the future launch of the European spacecraft Hermes.

Guyana

Barter Protocol With Soviet Union Extended

FL2510222589 Bridgetown CANA in English 2149 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, Oct 25, CANA—Guyana and the Soviet Union signed an agreement on Wednesday, extending for the third time and for another three years, a barter protocol which has run into difficulties. The signing ceremony at the local Ministry of Trade was, however, marked by an air of optimism with Soviet Ambassador Mikhail Sobolev announcing that the two countries are working on a joint bauxite mining project which should help Guyana meet its commitments under the protool.

In keeping with the protocol which dates back to April 1978, Guyana had agreed to supply the Soviet Union with quantities of bauxite in exchange for Soviet equipment, machinery and expertise. But while Guyana has received a large fleet of Lada motor cars, a Tupolev aircraft—which has since been returned to the Soviet Union because of dissatisfaction over its performance—and three helicopters together with spare parts and the services of Soviet technicians, it has been unable to meet its commitments to supply the USSR with bauxite.

In brief remarks at the signing ceremony, Sobolev noted that Guyana's difficulties were due to its lack of bauxite for export and its shortage of foreign exchange. He explained, however, that the joint bauxite mining project being worked on by the two countries will give Guyana a chance to export an additional 500,000 tons of bauxite annually. "This should constitute the real basis for the realisation, within the framework of the protocol, of widescale, diversified, mutually beneficial trade and economic co-operation between the USSR and Guyana," Ambassador Sobolev said.

Permanent secretary in the Ministry of Trade, Avinash Bhagwandin, who signed the agreement for Guyana, said the ceremony was a "very significant one" marking the continuing good relations between the two countries. Bhagwandin explained that the protocol when it was signed in 1978 was for five years in the first instance. It was extended by three years in 1983 and again for three years in 1986. He said the second period of extension has just expired and Wednesday's agreement provides for it to be extended up to 1992.

Government Announces Fuel Price Reductions

FL2510224089 Bridgetown CANA in English 2143 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, Oct 25, CANA—The retail prices of gasoline and diesel have been reduced by 5.01 dollars (one Guy dollar; three U.S. cents) and 3.04 dollars per gallon respectively, the official Guyana Public Communications Agency (GPCA) announced on Wednesday. The reductions have come one week after the prices had been hiked by 11.11 dollars per gallon for gasolene and by 7.32 cents per gallon for dieselene.

GPCA reported the Ministry of Trade as saying that the reductions became necessary because of the detection of an error in the cited prices used to compute last week's increased prices. It said the relevant order authorising the reductions was signed by Trade Minister Winston Murray. As a result of the reductions, gasoline will now be retailed at 45.20 per gallon and dieselene at 43.70 per gallon in the city. Prices in rural and hinterland communities will be higher than in the city.

Last week's increases met with strong denunciation from several interest groups in the society including the Guyana Manufacturers Association (GMA), the Guyana Consumers Association, and several trade unions.

In addition, immediately after the increased prices were announced, many hire car and mini [passage indistinct]. To date, no reasons have been given for the increased prices.

Nation Unable To Pay for Venezuelan Fuel

FL2810153489 Bridgetown CANA in English 1517 GMT 28 Oct 89

[By Courtney Gibson]

[Text] Georgetown, Guyana, Oct 28, CANA—Guyana has not been able to collect supplies of petroleum products from Venezuela in recent months under an agreement between the two countries because of Georgetown's foreign exchange problems, chairman of the Guyana Natural Resources Agency (GNRA), Winston King, told reporters. The agreement entered into by the two countries three years ago provides for Venezuela to supply Guyana's fuel needs and for Guyana to pay on a 30-day credit arrangement.

"Whenever we run into a foreign exchange crunch, we can't pay them and at the moment we owe them a substantial amount of money," King said at a news conference Friday. He was not specific about the amount owed, saying only it was less than 25 million U.S. dollars. He said the money has been outstanding since early this year and the Venezuelans have insisted that Guyana will not be allowed to get any supplies unless some of the money is paid. However, because the Central Bank here did not have enough funds to release to pay on the arrears, the country has had to resort to an ad hoc

arrangement under which it goes out and purchases individual shipments wherever available and as funds become available.

"We have been doing that for some time—shipment by shipment—as available foreign exchange dictates," the GNRA chairman explained. But he added: "We have now made arrangements to meet our undertaking with respect to our arrears and we believe we will be able to lift (supplies) out of Venezuela once we begin to meet our payments". He said he expected this to be confirmed over the weekend. He explained further that during this period of ad hoc arrangements, supplies were lifted out of both Curacao and Trinidad and Tobago and because the shipments could not be planned in advance, shipping problems were often experienced. He also pointed out that during this period, Guyana received some help in the form of supplies of petroleum products under Canadian and British assistance programmes. These arrangements have, however, come to an end.

Suriname

Further on President's Canceled Trip

PA2510184789 Paris AFP in Spanish 1744 GMT 25 Oct 89

[Text] Paramaribo, 25 Oct (AFP)—Government Spokesman Glenn Truideman announced today in Paramaribo that President Ramsewak Shankar had suspended his trip to Costa Rica to attend the presidential summit due to recent rebel attacks in Suriname.

Truideman said that Shankar made the decision on 24 October when he received a report from Vice President Heack Arron that the rebels had made a second attack on a ferryboat pier in Rio Coppename. When he received the report, Shankar was in Miami, where he had made a stopover in Miami on his way to San Jose.

According to official reports, alledged members of the Indian rebel group "Toekayana Amazonas" attacked the ferryboats' installations on 24 October and stole two ferryboats loaded with 5 tons of rice, 400 tanks of liquid gas, an undetermined number of whisky bottles, a car, and 2 pick-up trucks.

"Commander Thomas," one of the Toekayana leaders, denied that his group was responsible for these attacks that interrupted traffic in the Nickerie rice zone, near the border with Guyana.

The Toekayana Amazonas group rebelled on 31 August with an attack against the pier, and it still controls most of the western part of the country.

The group opposes the 21 July peace agreement signed by another rebel group whose members are largely African decendents and who rebelled for 3 years in the eastern part of Suriname.

Indians Deny Hijackings

FL2610132989 Hilversum International Service in English 1030 GMT 26 Oct 89

[Text] In Suriname, the Toekayana Amazon Indians have denied that they hijacked two ferries on Tuesday. Passengers on the ferries on the Coppename River said that the hijacking had been carried out by a group consisting mainly of Indians. The Toekayana Indians say that the action was carried out by people who want to slow down the peace process in Suriname.

Military aircraft have, meanwhile, located the two ferries. The Army commander has suggested recapturing the ships by armed force but the government in Paramaribo has rejected this proposal.

Government Rejects Rebel Demands

FL2710145089 Bonaire Trans World Radio English 1130 GMT 27 Oct 89

[Text] Suriname's Government has rejected a package of demands issued by a rebel group which captured an eastern mining town. The group calling itself the Union for Freedom Democracy and Development seized the town of Moengo 2 weeks ago. Rebel demands include prosecution of Army officers for alleged human rights violations since 1980.

Meanwhile the Toekayana Indian rebel group has denied responsibility for the seizure of two ferry boats on Tuesday in the western part of the country.

Army Retrieves Hijacked Boats

FL3010223889 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] The ferry service at Coppename Point in the Saramacca District was resumed yesterday following the return of the two boats. The two boats were hijacked last week by a group of unknown armed men but were retrieved on Saturday last by the National Army. The two boats were found abandoned at the Kalebas Kreek some 5 km from Coppename Point where the hijacking took place. The military action took place following instructions from the government for the Army to retrieve the boat. The goods which were on board have not been recovered.

Bushnegro, Indian Guerrillas Clash

PA3110023989 Paris AFP in Spanish 0052 GMT 31 Oct 89

[Text] Paramaribo, 30 Oct (AFP)—The Suriname News Agency, SNA, has announced that 20 people were killed today in a clash between black and Indian guerrillas at the Moengo mining center, 90 km east of Paramaribo.

The clash and its deadly aftermath resulted when presumed insurgents from the Indian "Toekayana Amazonas" movement, based in the western part of this former Dutch Netherlands, attacked Moengo, which, until 12

October, had been under the control of the Bushnegro Union for Democracy and Liberation [Union por la Democracia y la Liberacion, UDL] guerrillas.

The Bushnegroes, descendants of black (Cimarrones) slaves who fled from Dutch plantations to the Surinamese jungles, have three different guerrilla groups in the country, including a group allied with the Toekayana.

An anonymous call to the state-owned SRS [Stichting Radio-omroep Suriname] radio station in Paramaribo stated that a "Toekayana group" carried out the attack on Moengo, the leading bauxite-producing center in the country, which was semi-paralyzed after its occupation by the UDL.

The SNA, citing trustworthy sources and radio reports, said that the roar of the gunshots between presumed Toekayana followers and their UDL rivals began at 0530 (0830 GMT).

The agency reported that there apparently were no victims among the 3,300 civilian inhabitants of the town, the mines of which are operated by the Suriname Aluminium Co., a subsidiary of the U.S. Company Alcoa.

The UDL, upon staging its insurgency on 12 October, justified its occupation of Moengo as an effort to presumably preserve it from attacks by the Toekayana.

Meanwhile, on 31 August the Toekayana group blocked access roads to the western part of Suriname—with a certain amount of military tolerance—to protest a peace agreement signed in July by the government of civilian President Ramsewak Shankar and the oldest guerrilla group, the "Jungle Commando" led by Ronny Brunswijk, also a Bushnegro.

Brunswijk's guerrillas, who have been active for 3 years in the eastern part of Suriname, clashed with regular forces and attacked production centers, leaving a total of more than 500 people killed, aside from considerable damages to the economy.

Up until after midday (1500 GMT), the result of the attack and knowledge as to which group was, in fact, effectively controlling the Moengo center, was still unkown. The Army had not received official information.

National Democratic Party Leader Reelected

FL3010230289 Paramaribo International Service in English 1730 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Jules Wijdenbosch has last Friday during a general member's meeting been reelected as chairman of the National Democratic Party. Wijdenbosch was the only candidate for the post of chairman of the National Democratic Party. The number of board members of the party is 15, and only 4 of the total board members have been elected. Jules Wijdenbosch has been the chairman of the National Democratic Party since its formation on July 4th, 1987.

New Oil Exploration, Production Program Developed

FL3010221289 Bridgetown CANA in English 2116 GMT 30 Oct 89

[Text] Paramaribo, Oct 30, CANA—Suriname with 99 of its 112 oil wells functioning at the end of last year has developed a new exploration and production expansion programme for the country's on-shore basin which is to be carried out during 1989-92, State Oil Company has reported.

State Oil which recorded nearly one million guilders (one guilder; 1.77 U.S. dollars) net profit last year says the systematic search for petroleum in Suriname is still in the beginning stage, but valuable experiences have been gained from the fields sunk so far. This on-shore exploration programme consists of the drilling and tasting of at least 30 wells at several potential locations, State Oil said. The total exploration cost is estimated at some U.S. 9.2 million. The on-shore production expansion programme is targeted to increase crude oil production to 6,300 barrels a day in 1992 from the 3,800 at the end of 1988.

The State Oil Company also hopes to have its own refinery going into operation by the end of 1992, said the report. This refinery will produce motor diesel, liquified petroleum gas, asphalt and what is termed No. 6 fuel oil mainly for domestic consumption.

State Oil made a net profit of 942,000 guilders in 1988 when crude oil production was 1.24 million barrels, which represents an increase of 436,000 barrels on the production figure of 1987, which was put at 801,000 barrels. The just-released State Oil Company's annual report for 1988 said that the cash flow in that year was 8.76 million guilders. The production for 1989 has been forecast to reach 1.5 million barrels which should bring in a net profit of 4.2 million guilders, according to the company's annual report. The company has made this projection against the background of an expected increase in crude oil price of 21.24 guilders per barrel, an increase of 2.34 guilders over the price in 1988, which was 18.90 guilders per barrel.

State Oil's entire production is sold for foreign currency. Some 76.5 percent of the production is bought by the Suriname Aluminum Company (Suralco) with another 0.5 percent being sold on the local market, while 23 percent is sold on the export market.

According to the company's annual report, the economic performance of the company has been maintained despite the current economic problems in Suriname. The report continued that from 1983 to 1988, some 3.5 million barrels of crude oil were produced by the company bringing in a gross profit of 98 million guilders. The report added that after deducting the foreign currency needed for investments and operations, some 65 million guilders remained for general use.